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ABSTRACT

This handbook provides classroom teachers with information to assist them in enhancing Samoan students' social adjustment and academic achievement in U.S. schools. The information complements the 25-minute videotape, Samoa, which is designed for student viewing. The handbook provides background information on the Samoan people, their islands, and Samoan schools and discusses reasons given by Samoans for migrating to Hawaii or the mainland. A chapter examines differences in culture between middle-class European Americans and traditional Samoans. Middle-class American family structure typically consists of a nuclear family with two children, while traditional Samoan families consist of an extended family structure with an average of seven children. A chapter on intercultural communication pragmatics describes principles of Samoan communication and provides context markers in Samoan communications such as eye gaze, posture, and gesture. A chapter focusing on linguistic considerations outlines differences encountered when using the Samoan language and lists problem sounds for Samoans in oral English. Contrasts in socialization between the two cultures are discussed. Using the framework suggested by Ogbu and Matute-Bianci, Samoans may be described as displaying primary differences of cultural content as well as secondary differences of cultural style. Samoans are willing to cross cultural boundaries only in certain areas of behavior and generally decline to accept most features of U.S. cultural norms and values. A final chapter provides research findings concerning second-language learners and discusses classroom applications for these findings. The handbook contains a glossary and an extensive bibliography. (CDS)

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HANDBOOK for TEACHERS of SAMOAN STUDENTS in WESTERN SCHOOLS

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Sharon Seibert Vaipae
Davis, CA
March, 1999

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Dedicated
to the memory of

High Talking Chief
Vaipae Matini

(1917 - 1989)
of
Lepuiai, Manono
Western Samoa

His wisdom of life was
restraint of power within moral guidelines
transcending religion or culture.

Purpose of this Handbook . . . .

. . . to create an awareness of the cultural heritage of Samoans living in California and throughout the world,

. . . to encourage a positive attitude towards and an appreciation of Samoans and their culture by both their teachers and classmates,

. . . to promote a fuller understanding of the verbal and non-verbal communication of the Samoans,

. . . to develop awareness of the explicit differences that play important roles in cross-cultural communications,

. . . to provide classroom teachers with information to assist them in enhancing Samoan students' social adjustment and academic achievement, and

. . . to provide background information to the teacher that complements the 25-minute video tape, *"Samoa,"* designed for student viewing.

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Handbook for Teachers of Samoan Students in Western Schools

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Davis, CA March 1999

Introduction

Achievement studies show schooling is most effective when the values of school and family are similiar (Gollnick and Chinn 1983). The profound differences between the culture of Samoa and that of the American school foreshadow social, linguistic, and educational difficulties for both students and the school. Many cultural traits, complexes, and patterns of Samoans are not familiar to American teachers and, as is true for many minority groups, stereotypes have developed. What the in-group values positively, the group being stereotyped is said to lack. Conversely, the seemingly egalitarian assertion that all people 'are alike beneath the skin,' hides an even deeper ethnocentric assumption, that all people are 'like me' (Saville-Troike 1975). Thus, Samoan cultural traditions are examined to provide a foundation of knowledge for the classroom teacher about Samoan distinctiveness.

Despite the dangers in generalizing specific aspects of culture, this analysis is made to provide comparison with the more widely-known middle class European American (MCEA) culture. "European" is included because the middle class now extends across many minority ethnic groups formerly excluded from mainstream America. Samoans' traditional lifestyle and customs are prominant aspects in their behavior and thinking after migrating to the United States mainland. A deeper understanding of Samoan students' background experiences may be gained by looking at their reasons for migration and their difficulties once here.

In 1980, Samoans comprised a relatively small number in American schools (.06 percent of California public school elementary and secondary students). However, according to a 1989 U.S. Census report, the number of Asians and Pacific Islanders living in the United States increased by 70 percent during the 1980's (Holliman 1989). The Samoans are but one of several minorities whose invisibility, yet physical differentiation, results in being either mislabeled as Native Americans, Hispanics or Asians or overlooked as a "miscellaneous" minority.

Samoan students, even if born in the United States, will most likely speak English as their second language. Between 75 - 85 percent of Samoans have reported their native language as the one of predominant or sole use at home (Shu and Satele 1977). There are

no bilingual programs conducted in Samoan, so Samoan students will be found in regular classrooms being expected to perform in academic subjects much the same as native speakers. The majority of Samoan students need second language instruction concurrently with the academic instruction.

In teaching a second language to young migrants, we are teaching culturally different patterns of perception, of communication, and of affect - the sum effect of which is teaching a second culture. Robert Politzer (1959) flatly states "If we teach language without teaching at the same time the culture in which it operates, we are teaching meaningless symbols or symbols to which the student attaches the wrong meanings; for unless he is warned, unless he receives cultural instruction, he will associate American concepts or objects with the foreign symbols." Vanikar (1986) relates language and explicit cultural instruction by observing that cultural competence revolves around communication and the ability to draw from a culture with a sense of discernment and purpose. The cultural instruction within a school should be from the view of life as seen from within the target culture, especially by individuals who are in circumstances comparable to those of the student. The students need to learn a variety of skills, ideas, and principles which will enable them to function more effectively in both their own and the dominant culture (Albert & Tirandis 1985).

John Ogbu and Maria Matute-Bianchi (1986) point out the complexity of recognizing why some language minorities do well in Western school settings and others do not. In describing some of the cultural practices which are often cited as the reason some minorities perform differently, it is observed that these practices do not universally result in the achievement discrepancies reported. By contextualizing the historical and structural conditions shaping the sociocultural factors affecting school performance, they demonstrate that cultural discontinuities are not necessarily unsurmountable barriers for students whose teachers' make an effort to distinguish and understand the affective dissonance and act to ameliorate those conditions within the classroom.

Aspects of various elements descriptive of the Samoan and MCEA cultures are discussed and some highlighted as they are thought to be particularly relevant to social and academic interests. Simple presentation and assessment of these similarities and differences do not guarantee understanding as these elements are but selected parts of highly complex cultural systems. Indeed, to what degree and at what levels such understanding may occur is unknown and by what means it is reached remains uncertain. Intellectual knowledge of various cultures can be achieved with or without the emotional acceptance and empathy central to effective cross-cultural "understanding." Few take the time and effort to make the difficult, and sometimes threatening, explorations of even their own cultural underpinnings, let alone those of others. Gaining a working perspective of cultural others is hard to achieve until native orientations are understood; the result for cross-cultural contacts is that misunderstanding often precedes understanding (Damen 1986).

Samoa is a speech-centered culture. There are unique ways of communicating a thought, an expectation, a wish or a command. This is often done in an indirect way, and words such as the polite "yes" may mean "no" between Samoans. On the other hand, what Europeans say to them is often interpreted quite literally. These and other differences in communication pragmatics of the two cultures are highlighted as important aspects of each's profoundly different worldview. A brief contrastive analysis of English and Samoan languages is offered to gain perspective on not only the linguistic aspects, but also on the cultural reflections of those differences. Socialization is viewed from infancy, early childhood and on into school age. In examining traditional Samoan socialization, understanding of the differences that must be accomodated by a Samoan child in adapting to a Western school culture is sought. Specific contrasts applicable to school environments are provided to emphasize the points where students may benefit especially from teacher knowledge and understanding. Finally, suggestions are made for utilizing the strengths of Pacific Island children's learning styles and culture to enhance their social and academic achievement.

The potential contributions of these students to the classroom and the adaptation of teaching methods to use their assets to fullest advantage in the educational process can better be realized through the teacher's knowledge of the culture and the application of the resulting insights. When teachers have developed critical knowledge and understanding about their own as well as others' cultures, they are more likely to demonstrate an effective sensitivity to the varieties of language and conduct encountered in a multi-ethnic classroom and their underlying value orientations. Explicit explanation and/or demonstration of the target culture-specific information fulfills a part of the teacher's role as a cross-cultural interpreter. The problem is not to fit individuals into preexisting structures, but to grasp the way in which they will tend to fit "reality" into their own pre-existing structures (Rivers 1986). This is possible only when some understanding has been achieved of the cultural background of students whose socialization has been different than that of middle class European America. Although the focus of this handbook is specific cultural knowledge and understanding, its overriding message is to emphasize a basic respect for people as individuals.

Background of the Samoan People and Their Islands

The 11 Samoan islands are divided politically and geographically into American and Western Samoa. American Samoa has been an unincorporated territory of the United States since 1900, while Western Samoan became an independent state in 1962. Ninety-six percent of the population is Samoan with the majority of non-natives being from the United States, New Zealand, Korea, China, Australia and the Philipine Islands. The Samoan language is spoken by most of the people in daily life and shares, with English, official language status in both island sets. The younger educated people have at least a social competency in English, but many of the elders speak and are literate only in Samoan.

Location

The Samoas are 13-15 degrees south latitude and 171-173 degrees west longitude. Western Samoa is located approximately 75 miles westnorthwest of American Samoa.

Pago Pago, the capital of American Samoa, is 4500 miles from San Francisco, and five air hours on southwest from Honolulu. The Territory's population in 1995 was 52,000, with most living in scattered coastal villages and but few inland as limited by the 70 square miles of mountainous terrain. The inland harbor at Pago Pago is the deepest and most naturally well-protected in the South Pacific.

Apia, the capital of Western Samoa and its only metropolitan area, has a population of 39,000. Western Samoa's 219,000 (1995) people live on four islands whose land area totals over 1000 square miles. The most populated island of Upolu has the second largest coconut plantation in the Southern Hemisphere.

Climate and Topography

The climate is tropical, with temperatures between a humid 70-85 F. degrees year-round. Pago Pago receives 200 inches of rain anually and Western Samoa, about half as much; most of it in the rainy season between December and March. The islands are cooled by southeast tradewinds. Although the Samoas are infrequently hit by hurricanes, in February, 1990, Hurricane Ofa was extremely destructive to the homes, schools and food crops as well as the natural beauty attracting tourists. Food supplies, communications, and government services in Western Samoa suffered serious long-term disruption and economic recovery is expected to be slow.

The islands, surrounded by coral reefs, are volcanic in origin. American Samoa's mountains slope steeply into the sea, leaving little room for agricultural production beyond subsistence level. Thus much of American Samoa's traditional food supply is imported from the larger and more arable islands of Western Samoa.

History

The Samoans are Polynesians who arrived on the islands between 2500 to 3000 years ago, after slowly making their way from Indonesia and the Malaysian Peninsula. Their predecessors in Polynesia, the now-extant Lapitians, also inhabited many Melanesian and Micronesian islands. The first European, a Dutch trader, arrived in 1722; but the greatest impact came in 1830 with the arrival of John Williams of the London Missionary Society. The islands quickly became Christianized and 40 years later, the Samoans were sending out their own missionaries to other Pacific islands. The Samoan islands were ruled by local village and district chieftains until the late 1800's when they came under the control of British, American and German consuls.

The United States took an interest in Samoa in 1897 for the protected deepwater harbor and its potential for mid-ocean re-coaling and military uses. While the United States officially opposed colonization, the Samoan Islands were claimed and divided in 1900 by Germany and the United States. Used in World War II as an advanced training and staging area for the United States Marine Corps, American Samoa was governed by the Department of the Navy until 1951, when the islands were turned over to the Department of the Interior. The Islanders declined to sever their territorial relationship with the United States in 1994 (Wright,).

Western Samoa was attractive to the Germans and then to the British, who saw opportunities for transshipment and trading as well as for establishment of large coconut, coffee and cocoa plantations. To protect colonial interests, five warships from Britain, the United States and Germany were gathered in the Apia harbor for possible confrontation when the 1899 hurricane sunk or destroyed all but one ship. The argument over Samoa among outside powers never heated up again, thus allowing the Islanders to focus on efforts to gain recognition as independent entities. Western Samoa became a protectorate of New Zealand under a United Nations agreement after World War II. New Zealand administered the islands until 1962, when the country became the first of the South Pacific islands to declare independence from the various colonial powers that dominated the region's political and economic affairs for the past 100 years.

Economy

About one-third of the population of American Samoa is employed, and about 50 percent of those workers are employed by the American Samoa Government. Another third are employees of the two tuna canneries, Van Camp and Starkist. Federal grants provide about $10 million per year for government services and capital improvements (*Samoa News*, June 23, 1989). A vigorous program to privatize some of the local government services was begun in the mid 1980's. The Samoans have repeatedly refused the introduction of U.S. Federal programs such as Cash-in-Aid grants and Food Stamps. Some money is accepted for an Elderly Nutrition program.

Fishing and local production of taro, breadfruit, coconuts, bananas, hogs and chickens provide food for the villagers and considerable imports from the United States and New Zealand are made to supplement food supplies. Some export of local fisheries is made, but most fishing is done for local family consumption. The percent of Western Samoans engaged in the wage-earning labor force is much smaller than in American Samoa, and so subsistence farming and fishing occupy most of the population. Western Samoa exports copra (dried coconut meat primarily for oil extraction), taro, bananas, and cocoa. The hardwoods from the mountain rainforest on Savai'i are heavily cut by the Japanese. Tourism has never been as large a part of the economy as either island set has desired. Western Samoa continues to do moderately well, but the popularity of Amerian Samoa as a tourist destination has dropped considerably in the last ten years.

Due to the increased access to American goods and ideas, American Samoans live a more Westernized existence than their Western Samoan cousins and American Samoa's per capita income is approximately four times as high (Wright, 1989). In 1983, Western Samoa was designated as one of the 10 poorest Third World countries by the United Nations. It receives assistance for government projects such as hospitals, airport improvements, industry subsidies and cultural exchanges primarily from Japan, Australia, China and New Zealand. The World Bank has financed a number of other projects. The World Health Organization contributes medical assistance, particularly to eradication and control of tropical diseases including filiarisis, Hepititis B and dengue fever.

Government

Local government above the village level in American Samoa is provided by a bicameral legislature. The 18 senators are chosen by 12 district councils and the 20 representatives are elected by popular vote.

The High Court is headed by a Chief Justice who is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The High Court is a court of record and adjudicates claims made to traditional *matai* (chief) titles and real property boundry disputes. The 1900 (1916) treaty between Eastern (now American) Samoa and the United States allows certain cultural practices that would otherwise violate the U.S. Constititution. One instance is prohibition of the sale of customary land to an individual of less than 50 percent Samoan blood without American Samoan legislative approval. This controls alienation of native landholdings. Large-scale loss of land by the Hawaiian natives was a major factor in the development by outsiders that led to the rapid decline of Hawaiian culture and the number of natives today.

Since the beginning of American colonial involvement in American Samoa, Presidentially-appointed governors from the United States served as the local executive heads. The first native Samoan governor of American Samoa was Peter Tali Coleman, appointed in 1965. He was elected in 1977 and again in 1980 and served until 1985, when A. P. Lutali took office. Coleman was re-elected in 1988, the first year in which the campaigns assumed United States political party stances. The current non-voting delegate to the U. S. Congress is the former Lt. Governor under Lutali, Eni.

Western Samoa is a constitutional monarchy led by Head of State Tanumufili Malieatoa II and Prime Minister Eti Tufili. The parliament or *Fono*, consists of 32 members elected by universal suffrage over age 21. Prior to the referendum of 1990, only the titled *matai* of the country were electors. The Western Samoan Constitution provides that Malieatoa will be the last non-elected monarch and succeeding Heads of State will be chosen at four-year intervals by a *Fono*-elected Head of State. In 1997, the Fono dropped Western from the official name to become simply Samoa, a change that was not welcomed by the residents of American Samoa.

Although the national governments of the Samoans have taken Western forms, the government with which the people are in daily contact is quite solidly that of historic Samoa. The head of each family is generically a *matai*, but not all family *matais* are title holders. Titles are historical and are registered with the government. The titles are of two varieties. The *aili'i* (high chief) is the one of highest rank and the *tulefale* (talking chief) is the other. However, not all titles of each type are of equal rank; there are *tulefale* titles that are more highly regarded than some *aili'i* titles. A particular individual holder may serve in such a manner that the inherent regard for a title may be increased or decreased. This is especially true of the *tulefale* titles where oratory skill may allow one to best holders of more highly regarded titles. The *tulefale* is associated with a specific *aili'i* whom he serves as official spokesman. The complexity of social rank is one which keeps tensions high with political overtones discernable in even, what is to Western eyes, mundane daily matters.

Communications

There are three newspapers on Tutuila, one in the Samoan language and two with both English and Samoan content. A government-owned television station provides local programs, educational presentations for elementary schools, and U. S.-produced television programs. A variety of American network shows, including the CBS national evening news, appear one to two weeks later in Samoa after being video-taped in Hawaii and flown in for rebroadcast. Since 1986, American Samoa has also received, *gratis* Ted Turner, the cable network CNN, 12 hours daily. In 1980, there were two movie theatres showing American films regularly; by 1984, both had closed due to the very rapid spread of VCR's and availability in the Territory of rental tapes.

Western Samoa has four Samoan language newspapers, three of which have some English content. The government prints a weekly newletter in English. The government-owned radio station, 2AP, broadcasts primarily in Samoan but switches to two channels, one in English, to provide regular coverage of legislative meetings. There is no television station, but broadcasts from American Samoa can be received by the few Western Samoans who own television sets.

One out of 10 American Samoans own motor vehicles as compared to one out of 160 in Western Samoa. Public transportation on both islands is well provided by *aiga* (family-owned) buses, and numerous taxis for the more affluent. Inter-island transportation is provided by airplane, ferry and small motor launches.

Hawaiian Air serves both Samoas bi-weekly from Hawaii. Polynesian Airlines, Air New Zealand and Air Nauru provide service to other Pacific islands including New Zealand and Australia.

Everyday Island Life

The typical Samoan village is made up of a series of families. The large, extended families can have from 50 to 300 members with individual households numbering 10 to 15. A family member is anyone related to any one *matai* by birth, marriage or adoption (a frequent occurance in Samoa). Individuals will belong to more than one extended family because of the bilateral kinship affiliating them more or less equally with their mother's and father's relatives. The *matai* is the head of the extended family, and is selected through the consensus of all members. The *matai* of a village form the *fono*, or village council, and govern the day-to-day affairs of the village. Each *matai* is responsible for the labor, activities, well-being, feeding and housing of his family members. There is a strong obligation on the part of the family members to share their sustenance with the extended family and, to some extent and on some occasions, with the entire village. Family land is held in trusteeship in the name of the *matai* and strict laws regulate and discourage alienation of customary land holdings. The *matai* system is the basis of the Samoan political system, economic livelihood, family and social life. The Samoans have a strong sense of *fa'aSamoa*, or the Samoan way. From birth, Samoans learn and experience the nature of this hierarchal order (Shore, 1986).

A prominant feature of *fa'aSamoa* is the generalized and ritualized giving that occurs during a *fa'alavelave*. Goldenweiser's (1989) "cultural involution" may be an appropriate description of *fa'alavelave*'s function. The literal Samoan translation is "to tangle; to make complex; to elaborate." In Samoa, a *fa'alavelave* is the catch-all word used to describe births, weddings, funerals, title confirments, new church buildings - any event which culturally demands elaborate ritual with additional food, money and fine mat contributions to the *matai* or institutition. Thus simple basic forms are patterned into ones of apparent complexity and surface density (Shore 1982). This cultural ritualization of problems enriches the simplicity of a subsistance existance.

Fine mats or *ie toga*, woven from dried pandamus leaves, are the traditional representation of a family's wealth and distinguished by their delicate threads and distinctive feather decorations from the everyday-use mats for eating and sleeping. Months

and years can go into the making of *ie toga* and some, generations old, are considered national treasures. Women weave these mats, sometimes gathering in work groups to socialize while they weave.

Several different groups based on age, sex, and rank exist in each village. The corresponding group to the village *fono* of titled *matais* is the women's group which includes the wives of those chiefs. There is also an untitled women's group (*what is the word?)* and an untitled young men's group (*aumuga*). Each fulfills general and specific roles within the village. The *fono* meets weekly to make major village decisions and regulations, and acts as the judicial arm through formal sanctions against violators by exacting fines of food and/or money to be distributed throughout the village. The wives' group sees that all village homes and common areas are well maintained and oversees general domestic health and safety. The untitled women's group assists the titled wives and helps prepare the village for special feasts and events. The untitled men's group provides the heavy labor for village needs and also serves as the sports teams for intervillage competitions such as cricket, rugby and volleyball. All groups are committed to support church needs and activities with labor, service, food or other material contributions.

Samoans enjoy music, singing and dancing. Popular sports and recreational events include cricket, volleyball, rugby, basketball, canoeing and rowing competitions, amateur boxing, and in American Samoa, football and baseball in the schools. A dozen tennis courts and an 18-hole golf course are maintained by the Territorial government and a fitness gym and local yacht club are privately sponsored. Sports of greatest interest are generally those requiring cooperative team efforts and competition between groups can be very intense. This is especially true of the *fautasi*, or long boat, races which take place in June and July. Villages compete against one another and the 40 - 50 young men who row each boat spend a month or more in intensive fitness and rowing training prior to the races. Several holidays and celebrations are observed including Western Samoa's Independence Day on June 1st, American Samoa's Flag Day on April 17th and in both Samoa's, White Sunday on the second Sunday in October.

Although some men and women wear Western-style clothing, particularly if working in offices, most Samoans wear what has been "traditional" Samoan attire since the missionaries introduced it. Men wear a *lavalava* (two yards of colorfully printed cotton tied around the waist), sometimes with a shirt. Samoan custom frowns upon women wearing slacks, except when participating in athletic events. They usually wear a *puletasi* (a long skirt and matching overblouse) or a *lavalava* and a blouse. Wearing shorts or swimming suit attire is considered immodest exposure of the upper legs. Samoans feel that a smile also is an important part of their personal appearance (Shore 1982). Samoans attach great importance to displays of politeness, respect for age and rank, obedience, hospitality to outsiders, sharing, cooperation and personal hygiene.

Food and Health

The basic food crops in Samoa are bananas, taro and breadfruit. Pork, chicken and fish are often a part of the Samoan regular diet and especially during feasts. This typical traditional diet has long been supplemented and, to a considerable degree, replaced by imported foodstuffs including white rice, bread, sugar, canned fish and meats of high fat content. Dairy products are expensive to import and have not gained wide acceptance or preference.

The World Health Organization has found the Samoan population to be the heaviest in the world. Their traditional emphasis upon service to the higher chiefs results in a lack of physical activity, but no lack of food, for these ranking individuals. There is a continuing cultural acceptance and desirability of ample-bodied men and women. Obesity accentuates the problems created by the high-stress hierarchial social order. Thus hypertension, heart disease, diabetes and gout are being recognized as frequent health problems in Samoa.

Island Samoans certainly look healthy and rise early in the morning to begin physical labor while the day is still cool. A late breakfast is served and then a light lunch in the early afternoon. Rest periods may or may not be taken during the hottest part of the day when the equatorial sun is directly overhead. Schools in Samoa generally begin at 7 or 7:30 am and release students by 2 pm. The evening meal may be as late as 8 or 9 pm so village activities can continue uninterupted until dark. Food is usually ample for all, but due to the transition from a totally native diet to a mixed one including much rice, sugar and less fresh fish, some childhood cases of protein malnutrition have been recorded in Western Samoa.

Hierarchy appears also in the order of eating with the family *matai* and his wife eating first. They are served by their older children and then the younger children eat. Those cooking, serving and cleaning eat last.

A high percentage of the male population drinks and/or smokes. One of Western Samoa's most successful light industries is the Vailima Brewing Company. The "easy-going" demeanor of the Samoan can thus be radically altered and the result is sometimes violent arguments and fights, especially among the young men during their recreational drinking evenings. The recent access to and popularity of "junk food" snacks and soft drinks of high sugar content is reflected in the rapidly deteriorating dental health of the children since 1965 (S.P.C., 1983).

Quality medical care is available in both American and Western Samoa, but access is sometimes delayed by initial recourse to native remedies as well as the low level of health education of the general population that slows recognition of problems needing professional medical attention. The Samoans generally tend to ignore and minimize physical pain with the result that they seldom cry out even when fairly severely injured.

All of the villages in American Samoa and about half of the villages in Western Samoa have electricity. Evening light is often provided by kerosene lamps. Running water in the outlying villages is more common in American Samoa. Most water catchment is from rooftops into fifty gallon cans or large cement tanks. The water supply can become scarce in August and September during the dry season.

The Arts

Islanders have long woven objects from various fibers of the coconut tree and other leafy plants for everyday use including fans, sleeping and eating mats, roman-style blinds for house sides, baskets for carrying fish and agricultural produce, and nets and traps for marine life. Some of these, such as baskets, fans and mats evolved beyond utility in refinement of design and excecution. In addition to contining production of these for everyday use, many island women market their creations for sale at the street markets to tourists in Apia and Pago Pago. A large commercial cruise ship from Australia enters Pago Pago monthly.

Woodcarving began with the making of canoes, or *paopaos,* from the trunk of a single tree. The many-footed large wooden bowls, an intergal part of the traditional *kava* cermony, can be roughly hewn or decorated with intricately-carved designs. Swen Ornquist, the son of a Western Samoan mother and a Swedish father, has revived interest in the art of woodcarving through his own energetic designs in panels, poles and bowls. He works with the American Samoan Council on the Arts in teaching his skills and techniques to youth.

Tapa, or *siaopo,* is the result of painting or block printing with native dyes on fabric made from thinned and softened bark of the paper mulberry tree. Tapa was formerly used as clothing, but now its primary use now is for ceremonial dress and as exchanges of large pieces during *fa'alavelave.* An American Samoan, Mary Pritchard, the recognized world authority on tapa, strives to keep this time-consuming and painstaking craft alive in the islands through instruction of the youth.

The American Samoa Council on the Arts maintains a 100-person choir which performs traditional vocal music at local events and regional intercultural festivals and

exchanges. Village dancing and singing groups perform for a variety of celebrations and feasts.

Western Samoan author, Albert Wendt, has written several best-selling novels on themes controversial in contemporary island life and Mamoe Malieatoa's talents are displayed in both poetry and painting. Art exhibitions by local artists and students are regular events. There is a performing arts group in American Samoa producing two to three plays yearly.

Religion

The conversion of Samoans to Christianity began in the 1830's and there were few recalcitrants. The conversion of a village high chief was usually followed wholesale by the rest of the villagers. The missionaries developed a writing system for the Samoan language and translated a Samoan Bible (*Tusi Paia*) from the King James Version. The Samoans then took to learning to read and write their language with fervor. About half of the islanders are members of the Congregational Church, as founded by the London Missionary Society. The Methodists, Latter Day Saints of Jesus Christ (Mormon Church), and Roman Catholic churches also have significant memberships. All churches in Samoa have at least one secondary school and some also provide an elementary school.

Until the 1950's, all schools in both sets of islands were church-sponsored since religion was the primary use in Samoa for native literacy skills prior to World War II. As early as 1840, Malua Theological Seminary was established in Western Samoa by the London Missionary Society and provided the first printing facility in the South Pacific. Pastors are highly esteemed in Samoan society and, although not allowed to hold titles and have official voice in village affairs, exert considerable influence. Pastors frequently have the largest and most well-appointed homes in the villages. It is the ardent aspiration of a great many young men to become village pastors and to experience what they refer to as the "free life." The church receives substantial financial support from its members when measured as a portion of their total income. White Sunday is like Christmas for Samoan children as it is "Children's Sunday" and is the most important Sunday of the year. Christmas has been maintained as primarily a religious event, especially in Western Samoa where gift exchanges and secular decorations are an uncommon aspect of the holiday.

In addition to Sunday services both morning and afternoon, Wednesday evening services and Thursday choir practices are common. Choirs are very popular and elaborate hymn arrangements are featured at services. Four-part harmony seems to come naturally to the Samoans and the church music is usually outstanding.

Education

The public schools in Samoa reflect their colonial heritage in a number of ways. In American Samoa, the basic structure conforms to that in the United States. The Territory has given significant support to provide properly educated and trained natives as teachers. Their numbers grow each year and now only about forty percent of the teachers do not have baccalaurate degrees and/or teaching credentials. Bilingual education is the official policy of the Territory's Department of Education, but due to the low level competency in English of many elementary teachers themselves, the ideal is frequently compromised. Schools are centrally administered and there is no local village control. A proficiency test for graduation from high school was initiated in 1987. Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps membership is high at each of the secondary schools and the goal of many of these students is to enter a branch of the United States Armed Forces after high school. The military offers not only a career and further training, but also the opportunity to "see the mainland." Students wishing to continue their education can attend the American Samoa Community College (ASCC) and/or apply for scholarships from overseas universities. Obtaining 500 - 550 on the Test of English for Speakers of Foreign Languages (TOEFL) to gain unrestricted entrance into mainland institutions is unlikely for most Samoan students

immediately after high school graduation, so additional study at ASCC is generally undertaken before application abroad. About a dozen young men receive football scholarships from mainland colleges each year.

Western Samoa more closely follows the New Zealand (British-based itself) school format with proficiency testing required to advance to upper levels. Although school attendance is voluntary and not free, few do not complete elementary school. English is taught beginning in Standard One, equivalent to American fourth grade, and by secondary levels, all instruction, except Samoan Language and History, is in English. Form Upper Five is the point at which students seek to pass the National School Certificate (equivalent of the American high school diploma) examinations. Those seeking university entrance usually attend Form Six in order to prepare for the University Entrance Examinations administered by New Zealand. In addition to a national agricultural college, a teachers' college, and a branch of the University of the Pacific based in Fuji, there is the four-year University of Western Samoa. Students attend tertiary institutions in the United States, Fiji, Australia and New Zealand in about equal numbers.

As a result of the successes of the Western Samoan educational system, there are a number of un- and underemployed young people. The more educated young Samoans tend to feel dissatisfaction with village life and physical labor. They gravitate to Apia, the only place in Western Samoa where life is at all urban, and frequent bars, pool halls and seek Western pleasures. In both Samoas, the low level of applied technology and lack of job variety available severely limit the vocational experience possible for youth. Those who come to the mainland after high school graduation seldom bring with them any specialized job skills. So it is that the majority of mainland Samoans are found in service-type jobs requiring little training and low-level English proficiency. They are often unable to take advantage of or benefit from training skills programs beause of their limited language competency.

Samoans on the Mainland

When the United States Navy left Samoa after World War II, it was their policy to relocate Samoan members of the military to Hawaii and to the mainland. Their relatives began to follow them, and the 1980 census reported approximately 41,000 Samoans living in California and Hawaii. The largest concentrations are in Los Angeles-Long Beach; San Francisco-Oakland, San Diego, Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, San Jose and Honolulu. In 1984, the Department of Labor concluded that the 1990 Census undercounted Samoans by about 20 percent (NREL-DOL, 1994).

Samoan culture is very homogeneous when contrasted with the heterogenous American culture. However, as true with all cultures, no one individual represents all possible beliefs and values or views. Furthermore, cultural patterns and networks of beliefs and values undergo constant change, especially in multi-ethnic America. Even in Samoa, where contacts with outsiders are fewer, transitions in behaviors and customs are observed. Thus it is necessary for the classroom teacher to understand his/her own cultural perceptions and frames of references when describing behavior and meanings and to explain them as simply one person's view and always to allow for the legitimacy of alternative conduct and meanings (Damen 1986), as well as for change.

In general, the Samoan cultural frame of reference, when away from their home islands, stresses their native ways and thus the maintenance of Samoan culture and language. They resist practices they believe detrimental to the integrity of their culture. The Samoans identify themselves as a culturally and historically distinct entity, separate from the rest of society, and operate primarily outside the mainstream of American cultural, economic and political life. Their collective identity is promoted by intensive ingroup reliance and interaction. Ties to the traditional culture in the islands are fed by the continuing Samoan migration to the existing enclaves.

The two reasons given by Samoans for migrating to Hawaii or to the mainland are better educational opportunities for their children and increased access to better job markets. The outcome, according to school years completed and per capita income, do not match their original expectations and hopes. The educational level of the adult Samoans falls two years behind that of the general U.S. population. Only 11 percent of Samoans pursue education beyond the high school level. Their income is above but one other identified migrant group in the the United States: the Vienamese "boat people." Forty-nine percent live below the U.S. official poverty level. The income of Samoans in the United States is also drained considerably by the remittances to extended family members remaining in the

islands. These amounts are not insubstantial; over half of Western Samoa's Gross National Product is remittances.

The Samoan population in the United States is quite young with the average age being 17.6 as compared to the general American population average of 32.4 years (NREL-DOL, 1984). The primary export of the Samoas, especially Western Samoa, is its young men and women.

From the Samoan viewpoint, the most serious community problems encountered after migration and in adjusting to living in the United States, are those connected to their socioeconomic conditions: education, employment, language barriers, low income, housing and children's problems in school. On the other hand, Samoans see as community assets their ethnic churches, their way of life and their kinship system (Shu, 1986). These assets have not been able to alleviate their problems, probably because they address more psychological adaption needs than material needs. That few, if any, totally destitute Samoans are found reflects the chains of redistributive processes demanded by adherence to the kinship system of *fa'aSamoa*. Samoans are slow to seek modern medical attention in the United States and have difficulty getting it in many instances due to language difficulties.

Acculturation motivation, the immigrant's willingness to learn about, participate in and be oriented toward the host sociocultural system (Kim, 1980), of Samoans can be characterized as fairly low. This "lack of interest" does not promote the level of participation in American communication networks which would facilitate acculturation. However, the assumption cannot be made that all members of other cultures are eager to learn American ways and wish to achieve assimilation. This is especially not true for many Samoans whose pride in their own culture is almost always "before their eyes." They do not necessarily see all things American and Western as superior to their own ways and indeed, look with considerable disdain on some of the more individualistic practices. An example is the continued dependence of grown children upon their parents for guidance and the reversal of caretaking roles when the parents become those needing support. Samoan children's devotion to their parents traditionally transcends even that to their own children and spouses. To abandon parents to homes for the elderly (which don't exist in Samoa) is unthinkable to Samoans and extraordinary measures are taken and sacrifices made to accomodate the needs of elderly parents within the extended family setting. For even adult children to develop a higher degree of independence would equate with moving away from the group. Such conduct is described as *fa'apalagi*; a not-complimentary term meaning "acting like a European" (Maybe the Samoan's ethnocentric equivalent of an American parent describing a child's conduct as being "like a wild Indian.").

According to Kotcheck (1985), the adaptive strategies taken by Samoans have gone three different directions. The first, and by far the most common, is centered around *fa'aSamoa* (or the Samoan way). Maintaining *fa'aSamoa* calls for a continued high degree of honoring traditional customs and practices. This might work out better for the population if it did not entail such massive remittance of funds to relatives living in the islands. *Fa'aSamoa* also requires total support and hospitality for relatives recently arrived. This strategy, although serving a need, detracts from the migrant's initial striving for self-sufficiency as well as tending to limit potentially valuable experiential contact with mainstream American society. In the long run, an extensive involvement in the ethnic community without sufficient communication with members of the host society may retard the intensity and rate of the immigrant's acculturation (Bloom and Kitsuse, 1976). It also exacerbates demands on the host families' already scarce resources. *Fa'aSamoa* does not require that one shares when one has enough to share; rather, that one shares whatever one has.

A second alternative chosen by Samoans is the "panSamoan" approach which features cooperative efforts with Asian-American groups seeking federal and state funding for increasing English proficiency and vocational training. Progress through these channels is being ever more limited by the decreased funds available even though the institutional

structures are intact. Should adequate funding become available, this alternative might prove extremely successful in preparing young people for independence from *fa'aSamoa* since the programs are generally run by younger and college-educated Samoans. As such, they have developed a deeper understanding of the difficulties encountered by trying to accomodate the demands of American life with the demands of *fa'aSamoa*. The likelihood is thus reduced that the monies would be controlled by the traditional *matais* in the community.

The third strategy is simple solitary survival which involves severing ties as much as possible with the established Samoan community. This requires the ability to be quite self-sustaining in order to remove oneself from the reciprocal demands of Samoan tradition. This response is employed most typically by college students, military personnel and young professionals.

The stress that results from adaption to urban life and new school situations is buffered somewhat for Samoans by the support received from relatives and the wider ethnic community. These natural support systems build coping, ego strength and adaption mechanisms (Giordoano and Girordano 1977). Relatives, and often pastors, act as "cultural brokers" for the new arrivals in finding housing and jobs, making friends and in dealing and communicating with the dominant society (Graves, 1982). There is a price for this assistance: it is simply that the obligation must be returned and yet, when faced with some of the new choices available in a new setting, ambivalence can set in regarding such traditional practices. Continuing sources of stress for the majority of Samoan families are those associated with urban poverty. It should also be noted that although return migration may never come to pass, the vast majority of Samoans fully intend to go back to their islands, even if only to be buried according to custom.

Due to sheer numbers and control of important resources, the host culture must be adapted to by the immigrant. Adaption is not an "all-or-none" phenomenon in a new cultural setting, but involves three levels of social psychological function: cognitions, behaviors and self-identifications (Coelho and Stein, 1980). At the cognative level, the migrant must understand new social norms and customs. Behaviorally, adaption requires learning appropriate verbal and non-verbal skills. After acquiring a satisfactory level of usage of verbal and nonverbal communication patterns, he/she may still experience a more subtle and profound difficulty in recognizing and responding appropriately to the culturally-sanctioned communication rules. There are hidden dimensions that influence what and how to express thoughts and feeling appropriately in different relational and circumstantial contexts. The differences between cultures in these very basic aspects of communication often seriously impede understanding between immigrants and members of the host society. Communication affects psychological, social and economic adjustment (Kim 1976, 1980). Collette's (1971) work demonstrated greater liking and acceptance by host culture members when outsiders become adept in the use of the nonverbal signals of the second culture. Finally, changes in self-identification are needed to incorporate new social roles and values that provide a sense of belonging. Although early research suggested that those who assimilated were the best adjusted (Steinbert, 1981), observations since suggest that biculturalism may be more realistic and hence more successful for visible minorities. Similarly, ethnic maintenance, long regarded as dysfunctional, likely functions positively to ameliorate culture shock for involuntary migrants and promote positive self-identity for groups who experience prejudice and discrimination.

The Samoans may qualify as a "persistent people" when described as maintaining a separate identity based on shared symbols that define the group in opposition to others (Speicer, 1977). These symbols coalesce around race, language, religion and territory as they provide the basis for the division between the ingroup and the outgroup. Social, economic and ethnic factors are inseparably linked in the structuring of a cultural enclave. The process of cultural enclavement poses several problems for individual members. First, there is the question of whether to retain or to renounce allegiance to the ethnic community. This choice is seldom clear-cut, because ethnic identity may provide access to scarce

resources such as capital or labor from the ethnic community, while constraining access to the same resources from the larger society. Moreover, the sense of peoplehood usually affects an individual's social relations. Persistent peoples shape their members' lives to an unprecedented degree because the group's survival depends upon a tightly-knit network of co-ethnics. In a primal culture such as Samoan, rights for an individual do not exist and members live within the discipline of a clan group. In moving outside that clan, where social status and station in life is defined and understood, Samoans are confronted with a vast array of choices that traditionally have not been available to them. Further complicating is the initial lack of new cultural information and understanding as a framework to permit reasoned discrimination between the myriad of alternatives available.

Surface evidence that Western ways and thinking have made substantial inroads in changing the basic cultural aspects of island Samoans can be misleading. Many institutions and practices so adopted have undergone such substantial Samoanization as to be barely recognizable in content and/or intent.A lighthearted, but nonetheless representative, example is the first game of checkers I played with a student in Western Samoa. He proceeded to jump my men from all directions with his uncrowned pieces. My protest was met with, "You must learn the rules of Samoan checkers."

Observations are often made by Westerners that note and deplore the emphasis upon form rather than content in describing Samoan cultural domestication of Western governmental, educational and religious institutions. This thinking reflects culture-laden value judgements that deny and denigrate the importance of form and an appreciation of its value within various other cultures. It should also be acknowledged that among middle class European Americans themselves, there are numerous examples of preferring form over content. Included in this category might be attending "name" schools, living in the "right" neighborhood, buying designer jeans for toddlers, discarding perfectly good-looking and servicable cars, clothes, home furnishings and appliances only to replace them with "fashionable" items. An alternative viewpoint may be that there are cases where the substance of the matter is of little consequence without desirable form and presentation.

These adaptations of another culture's basic ideas should perhaps be credited as innovative and successful integration into native culture. Americans reciprocate in being the receiver also in stimulus diffusion and their interpretations are often equally viewed with disgust and wonderment by the donor culture. One example is the license Europeans have taken with native island dances, incorporating, in many cases, sexual connotations and sensual movements that were not included in the original island dances.

These two cultures are very different and to bridge gaps can be quite difficult. **Everyone has points beyond which they will not or cannot change.** Sometimes the best that can be hoped for is a temporary lowering of personal cultural identities on each side to allow common goals to be cooperatively achieved.

Two Cultures: Two Ways

A considerable amount of research on Samoan culture and personality has taken place utilizing a wide variety of methods: folklore and literature analysis, observation and interview; personality inventories; and projective, verbal and non-verbal testing, among others. Ronald Rose, author of South Seas Magic, comments on the effect of differences between cultural systems in descriptions and interpretations of indigenous behavior:

> No matter how firmly we attempt to discipline ourselves in making judgments on a different sort of culture, our own culture remains as a sort of final determinant. We take over a frame of reference; this is inevitable. We cannot assess people or things without making comparisons.
>
> What we need to realize is that our standard is not necessarily the ideal, that it is like the many others that exist, a working compromise with life. It is not final and it is not always good. [1959: 82]

The first anthropological analysis of Samoan culture gaining widespread notice, as well as continuing attention, was done by Margret Mead (1927). Focusing primarily upon participant observation and interview, Mead noted the following influences shaping juvenile behavior: (1) emphasis on social rather than personal relationships between relatives or peers; (2) a remarkable societal concensus regarding ideology, political doctrine, morality and occupational choice and (3) lack of emphasis on individuality.

In 1962, Torrance and Johnson explored creativity and original thought among Samoans. They pinpointed the following societal values as determinants of Samoan behavior: (1) the emphasis on remembering well; (2) the acceptance of authority heirarchies; (3) submission to authority and (4) doing nothing until told to do so. They concluded that cultural discontinuity would increase Samoan originality.

Garsee (1967), found Conformity and Benevolence to be the most valued by Samoans, with Recognition valued the least, on Gordon's Survey of Interpersonal Values. The Samoan norms were relatively similar to those from a corresponding Japanese sample in the areas of Recognition, Independence and Leadership, while comparison with American norms revealed that these were precisely the areas where Samoans and Americans are the furthest apart.

Holmes and Blazer (1962) used the California Test of Personality, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, and the Rogers Test of Personality Adjustment to profile strong tendencies in the Samoan personality towards (1) deference, (2) order, (3) abasement and (4) endurance. Comparison with American norms revealed Samoans weak in tendancies toward (1) autonomy, (2) dominence, (3) exhibition, (4) aggression and (5)

achievement. In 1974, Holmes returned to Samoa with the same instruments and found the intervening 12 years of considerable cultural change due to Western influences in communication, education, and economic well-being had moved Samoan norms closer to the American norms. However, Holmes notes a large degree of persistence of traditional traits in the Samoan personality and believes this persistence may be considered a type of adaption to changing conditions in which traditional traits have found an increased usefulness in new situations.

This contrastive analysis of the middle class European culture and the traditional Samoan culture is presented with the caveat that must accompany any general characterization of cultural attributes. It runs the risk of cultural stereotyping when, in fact, an individual or family of either culture may stand anywhere on the spectrum presented in this comparison. The objective here is to familiarize teachers with features of cultural differences in value orientations to enhance understandings of the world view of Samoan culture.

Middle Class European American	Traditional Samoan
Family Structure and Relationships	
Nuclear family	Vertically and horizontially extended family.
(Two generations of immediate family)	(Multigenerational with lateral relatives included) Secondary and tertiary relatives more often included in everyday life.
Average number of children is 2.	Average number of children is 7.
Neolocal residence pattern with married couples living apart from the relatives of either spouse.	Bilocal residence pattern with married couples living with either the husband's parents or the wife's parents.
Bilateral descent for property inheritance.	Property passed from titleholder to titleholder, as the title defines the extended family's leader and trustee of land.
Growth is measured by degree of independence and it is expected that children will leave their their parents' home to make their own family.	Interdependence of family members is underlined by the expectation that children will bring spouses and their children into the parents'home.

Parents serve children.	Children serve parents.
Youthful qualities held up as ideal. Advanced age is regarded as a libility.	Age is given great respect and a mark of honor and wisdom.
Children are isolated from their parents' worksite and duties at often far-removed locales.	Children accompany and regularly observe parents at work in the village and on the plantation.
Household chores are often in the category of being assigned to "teach responsibility" or the "work ethic" rather than necessarily contributing the family welfare. Allowances are sometimes based on such performance.	Children regularly contribute to maintenance of home, younger siblings, errands, food gathering and cooking with no expectation of renumeration. Emphasis is on service to the group rather than building individual self-responsibility.
Services such as child care and and household cleaning and and cooking can be hired.	Extended family members share all child care, household work and cooking without pay.
Support for relatives given reluctantly and often with resentment. Elderly parents represent burden to grown children and the obligation to provide for parents' total care is seldom assumed.	Cultural institution of a mutual support system for life crisis and celebration. Children have lifelong commitment to care for their parents. It may be that the parents' fear of not being cared for in their old age is a contributing factor for those resisting Western acculturalization for their children.
Children's income is their own.	Income of lower-ranking family members is given to senior family chief for redistribution at his discretion. This true *fa'aSamoa* is being resisted and rejected by some of the children who have experienced a more Western-style upbringing.

General Cultural Observations

Time segmentation, standardization of activities and promptness and schedules are emphasized.	Time is more intangible and circular.
Stratification is based on economic status, social class, and race with egalitarianism and attained achievement valued above inheritance.	Formal hierarchy ranks individuals by historical titles granted by family. Socioeconomic class distinctions do not exist.
Economic and social class lines and racial discrimination create feelings of alienation and isolation.	Cultural homogeneity provides greater connection to whole of society and promotes personal sense of security and belonging.
Working hard is morally correct.	No assignment of morality on an individual basis to level of production.
Self-reliance and the belief that individuals have control of own fate keeps emphasis on individual. Internal locus of control.	Common destiny shared by by groups, thus individual efforts are dedicated to the larger unit. External locus of control dependent upon relationships in and with groups.
Individual egos emphasize distinct and autonomous individuality.	Social or group ego stressing ego dependence and passivity.
Individual competition features independence.	Group competition features interdependence.
A few rich with a growing class of hungry and homeless. Humanitarianism is often highly organized and impersonal.	Ethic of sharing assures food and shelter for all.
Most food is purchased at stores and resturants,	Most food is produced by cooperative family efforts on own land.
Appreciation of innovation, change and moderization.	Reliance on and preference for old and traditional.

Personal life and community affairs based on culturally-determined principles of right and wrong. Personal guilt acts as additional behavior control.	A wide continum of right and wrong as based on situation. Emphasis placed on shame and dishonor as boundries.
Conflict resolution based on competitive bargaining with majority/minority voting.	Conflict resolution based on collaborative bargaining with consensual decisions.
Reading and writing are essential skills. Humans separate from and superior to nature.	Listening and speaking are essential skills. Man and nature regarded as cooperative.
Social relations require informality and assumption of equality.	Formalities are observed in social relations with status and rank given notice and respect.
Many interpersonal relationships are based on short term goals and self-serving needs. Association is often based on a common interest. Impersonality and objectivity is sought in relationships with others.	Relationships are more social, but tended carefully with life-long commitments. Reliance on strong kinship ties. Relationships are more subjective with status and relatedness strong influences.
Social courtesies frequently bypassed for expediency.	Politeness and hospitality to friends and strangers is a cultural priority.
Homes are closed with separate rooms for family members. Privacy and "own space" is important.	Homes are open with common living and sleeping quarters for family members. Privacy is not expected or desired.
Problems are perceived in the world and solutions sought. Values tend to be absolute.	Problems are accepted as they present themselves. Greater flexibility exists in judgments.
Child play groups are usually segregated by age, with younger sibs usually excluded. Sibling rivalry is common and expected.	Children play with siblings and friends of all ages. Many life-cross-age friendships result.

Fast life pace looks to short-terms gains and profits.	Slower life pace looks to present time and eternity.
Identifiable adolescent culture exists.	Less distinctively adolescent peer group activities and concerns. Emphasis remains on whole-family welfare.
Work is set apart from play.	Work progresses in the midst of play and human interactions receive general priority over task.
High cultural value is placed upon accumulation of personal and family wealth. Success is measured by acquisition of possessions.	Emphasis is less upon the accumulation of material goods and more upon the clever manipulation and redistribution of what is already owned, especially in times of *fa'alavelave*.
Communication tends to be verbally direct and confrontive.	Communication less direct, more time allowed for arriving at goal. Open confrontation avoided.
Direct, explicit verbal realm. Logic and rational perception and thinking dominate. Articulation counts.	Intuition, observation of non-verbal and circumstantial cues Contextual sensitivity to appropriateness stresses the subtle and implicit.

Religious Life

Less than 50 percent church participation.	Virtually 100 percent membership and participation.
Community respect for religious leaders is limited. Pay is generally low.	Pastors hold highly esteemed position in villages. Remuneration, in services and cash, is high.
Religious leaders often only called upon only in times of crisis and celebration (funeral & weddings).	Pastors are an everyday part of the villages' life.

Mother's Day and Father's Day and Christmas are commercialized.	Children's Day is a religious celebration and second most important after Christmas Day. Little secular attention to Christmas.
Religious activities are not allowed in public schools.	Prayers and hymns begin each school day in class.
No formal cultural-wide religious activity is required or allowed.	Each night, at 6 pm, all of Samoa stops for *Sa*, 15 minutes of family worship at home. Cessation of all travel and activity in each village is enforced by patrols of the untitled men's group. Penalties can be imposed by village chiefs for repeated or flagrant infractions of *Sa*.

While Americans, as the host society, are evaluating and judging the "odd" customs and behaviors of the newcomers, they should also be aware that a similar process is occuring among the immigrants. For example, Samoans are very conscious of politeness and displays of respect, and thus when they find Americans "violating" Samoan standards, they become judgemental also. However, just as the Americans will seldom be so rude as to directly state their reactions to an immigrant; Samoans will rarely indicate that they view some American ways as impolite or disrespectful. Several examples of such differences in customs are (1) Samoans consider eating and walking at the same time to be absolutely impolite and (2) standing while talking to another individual who is seated is most disrespectful. Within all cultures are contraditions and discrepancies of values, beliefs and norms. Inconsistancies noted in other cultures should be accepted with the same equanamity with which one regards one's own.

Intercultural Communication Pragmatics

Our perspective of foreign cultures is usually based not on their complex reality, but on the simplified image they project (Goytisolo 1985). Initial encounters between Samoan and Anglo often result in a formal and deferential demeanor from the Samoans, thus leaving the Anglo with the false impression of passivity and lack of drive in Samoans. This is an example of judging a behavior as a simple negation of one's own cultural value, rather than recognizing that an alternative value may well be in operation (Saville-Troike, 1976). In this instance, the Samoan perspective is of lowering oneself to bring honor to and elevate the standing of the other. Generally, Western-educated Samoans learn and conform to American norms for meeting and greeting so as to avoid this pejorative interpretation of what would be culturally-correct conduct in their own native setting. If we did not know how to relate appropriately to different groups of people before we were acquainted with them personally, we would be socially ineffective, to say the least, and perhaps even unable to function normally in a society (Saville-Troike 1974).This is commonly the position of cultural others in their initial contacts with a new and different culture. "Real communication among people from different cultures cannot be realized until each side learns the existing modes of communication specific to the other language" (Araki 1991). Such knowledge for classroom teachers allows them to recognize not only the potential conflicts, but also the opportunities they may create for students.

The difficulty of communicating cross-culturally amounts to much more than just speaking totally different languages; it is due in a large part to not having the same rules of cultural communicative strategies that allow encoding and decoding of messages in a common way. It is these rules that allow speakers to decode the social meanings carried, in particular, by paralinguistic and nonverbal modes of communication. The signaling of such social information becomes greater in importance relative to the social distance between the speakers' cultures. This is due in part to the communicants' "cultural filters" acting as selective screens for perception (Hall 1976). In language it is a fairly simple matter to know that one is not understanding or is being misunderstood. With the other extra-linguistic accompaniments to the spoken words, such as the non-verbal, value orientations, reasoning and rhetorical differences, certainty of intended and received communication can be much less clear.

In any culture, communication through language is a social activity which serves to identify the speaker and place him in an identifiable and particular relationship with the addressee. These relationships have a high order of importance to Samoans in their vertical social hierarchy and thus the phrase, *teu le va*, or "take care of the relationship," is uttered frequently in Samoa.

The basic cultural understandings that underlie Samoan communications differ in a number of respects from those of the middle class European Americans. If members of two different cultures adhere to their own culture's communication principles without recognition that the cultural-other is probably unaware of them, the likelihood of miscommunication is heightened. The following principles are presented as context background guiding communications among Samoans.

Principles of Samoan Communication

1. All communication is structured by considerations of rank and status.

2. Social interactions are constrained by considerations formality and intimacy.
(Power relations and solidarity)

3. English language represents for Samoans the extreme pole of distance on the solidarity scale.
(English usage suggests both good education and loss of connection with fa'aSamoa.)

4. Decision-making embeds the substance of discussions in elaborate ritualized etiquette.
(The greater the seriousness of the problem, the greater the ritualization surrounding its discussion.)

5. Group harmony outweights considerations of efficiency in decision-making.
(Concensus is sought rather than majority of opinion.)

6. Body posture is an index of formality.
(Non-verbal communication expresses rank, status and context variables. Height, frontness and distance are important aspects.)

7. Names in Samoan usage are subtle indices of both formality and of particular social content.

-adapted from Shore, 1984.

The middle class European American reader can readily identify among these those which run quite counter to his/her own. Although it is true that a certain few individuals receive additional consideration due to social rank or status, by far the majority of Americans present themselves as equals in communication. Problems demanding immediate attention likely may be dealt with, if possible, by disregarding excessive protocol and/or even usual administrative forms. The result is deemed more important than the process. Group harmony certainly would not be the most important factor in the process of making a decision among Americans. Body posture plays a role in MCEA

communications also, but the same postures may or may not duplicate the intended meaning in Samoan communication. It is these cultural assumptions, when incorrectly attributed to cultural others and continue unexamined, which lead to communication breakdowns. It should also be noted that the majority of the above principles involve assumptions related to context rather than actual speech itself and recognize that more than sixty-five percent of the social meaning of a typical two-person exchange is carried by non-verbal cues (Birdwhistell 1974).

The major contextual factors influencing one's perception of communication include status, activity, setting, past experience and culture itself. The degree to which culture members attend to nonverbal cues in speech events determines the culture's level of communication context as described by Hall (1976). Hall's conceptualization of context focuses on the degree to which information is embedded in physical context or internalized in the person communicating. Context may be regarded as sliding along a continuum ranked high to low. Additional cultural characteristics accompany these groupings generally. Low-context cultures value individual orientation, overt codes of communication, and maintain a heterogeneous normative structure with low cultural demand/low cultural constraint characteristics (Hall, 1976). Low context, or elaborated (Bernstein 1974), messages are explicit in the transmitted code. Middle class European Americans rely upon actual words or statements made to carry primary meaning in communications. They may say "He's a man of his words." or "Tell me, word for word, what was said." , pointing up a greater reliance on words themselves as the primary carriers of meaning. Teachers are especially oriented toward the verbal channel of expression and tend to see the word as the primary carrier of meaning. Intuitively, we acknowledge the importance of prosodic elements such as pitch, loudness, rhythm, stress, resonance and pauses because these add emotinal dimension to the spoken word (Moraine 1978).

In high context cultures and message systems where interpersonal relationships have high importance, information is integrated from the environment, the context, the situation and from nonverbal cues including body language, object language, and environmental language (Morain 1978). High-context cultures value group-identity orientation; covert, or restricted (Bernstein 1974) codes of communication; and maintain a homogeneous normative structure with high cultural demand/constraint characteristics (Hall, 1976). Homogeneity in culture and language allows for greater meaning to be conveyed by a single word and thus more is possible by implication and less necessary by direct statement (Barnland 1975). It is also the factor in social interaction that permits a greater amount of nonverbal communication since higher context culture members have more commonly-shared life experiences and very similar backgrounds. High context communication is economical, fast, efficient and satisfying. However, in order to work, it requires that participants be preprogrammed since without the "program," the communication will be incomplete. The low-context culture member can sometimes feel as though he/she has understood what was said by a high-context culture member but, because of the inability to perceive the nonverbal cues (the "program"), cannot correctly fully interpret with all intending meaning. This points up also the greater tolerance for apparent ambiguity allowed by higher-context culture members due to lack of precision in words. Lack of word precision should not be given anegative connotation since events are infinitely so much more complex than the language used to describe them. Higher context communication tends to allow interlocutors to account for events on a multiplicity of levels that is not possible with the linear, and thus single, aspect of meaning: speech. Code, context and meaning are different aspects of a single event. Low context communication thus emphasizes ideas rather than events (what is going on).

The greater use by Samoans of the nonverbal aspect of communication means that they tend to view the verbal as a means of communication, and that the nonverbal and extra-verbal are often of greater importance in the encoding and decoding processes than the verbal dimension of communication. This is in sharp contrast to the Western view of

rhetoric and communication with speech as **the** dominant carrier of meaning and intent. Thus the cultural training of the Samoans in context makes them highly sensitive to the more subtle nuances of social relations that the lower-context Americans may fail even to notice, let alone interpret.

Additionally, Samoan communication, like that of some of the Far Eastern cultures, incorporates silence as a part of normal interaction without the interactants feeling as though something is socially or personally amiss. The American tendency, when silence befalls a group, is to say something . . . anything, to break the silence. Americans are likely to interpret silence as possible sorrow, critique, obligation, regret or embarrassment (Ishii and Bruneau 1988). Since none of these are particularly desirable feelings to maintain for any length of time, Americans become quickly uncomfortable. To cultures who find communicative significance in silence, silence is not, as it is for Americans, the opposite of speech, or that which is happening when no one is communicating. Samoans can find silence socially meaningful and thus acceptable.

Samoans have a highly literary style of spoken discourse upon which great value is placed (Shore 1986). The Samoan language has its own idioms and patterns of thought. Tones and gestures are a part of these, and body language can communicate something entirely different to a Samoan than it does to a middle class European American. Teachers who are aware of these differences and have an appreciation for their importance in total communication and resulting behavior can be more helpful to students' overall adjustment to a second culture.

In Western society, written materials play a large role in communications and information dissemination. Most organizations are mazes of paperwork. Written evidence lends credence and at least temporary permanence to content. Contracts are in writing; offers and acceptances also. Samoans have a strong oral tradition which places little reliance upon and gives little importance to written materials. The veracity of children's oral statements are regularly challenged by their parents as a way of developing competence in culturally-preferred ways of evaluating and making oral claims. The language structure contains several verbs and particles specifying how certain the speaker is of the assertation being made (Ochs 1982). Thus speculation and hearsay are distinguished from fact and direct personal knowledge. Newspapers do exist in Samoa, but there is a "coconut telegraph" and it moves information quickly and reliably. Western Samoans listen nightly to the government radio station for local and overseas news and messages. Samoans usually know the majority of the contents of any given newspaper story before they read it and are often able to embellish and/or correct the information.

Secondary school cultural festivals feature speaking contests exercising and testing young men's skills as though they were *tulafales*. These orators, the high talking chiefs, speak for their high chiefs at meetings and ceremonies. They are responsible for memorizing long geneologies, family and village histories, legends and proverbs, as well as expected to speak using this knowledge in competitive social and *fono* meetings . . . and all according to custom and within ritual boundries. The importance of their skills ranges from an artful argument over which chief will officially welcome village visitors to a skillful presentation in a *fono* of a high chief's perhaps unpopular position on an issue. Very often style, form, and skill with words will prevail over the substance of the matter (Shore 1986). The result of this emphasis can be observed in the Samoan students' academic oral and written work. On one level, this focus on form may reflect the limited number of traditional choices or decisions permitted cultural members.

Language is intimately connected with the way in which experience is interpreted and with the cognative and affective categories which are used to conceptualize the world of each individual (Triandis 1964, 1972). Because culture is not an innate characteristic, but is a learned adaptation to cope with the problems presented by a particular environment (Spradley and Rynkiewich 1975), mental processes, forms of reasoning and approaches to problem solutions are not universal across cultures. Generalizations about apparent thought patterns include the tendency of MCEA's to be analytical; the Samoans more synthetic and

emphasizing the "is-ness" of matters. MCEA's prefer facts and precision, whereas Samoans tend to stress subjective ideas. Middle class European Americans' organization of argumentation features how or why and can take a confrontational or persuasive linear form. Samoans are more likely to simply describe what, and then through circular reasoning seek consensus of the group. Getting to the point excluding any extra or irrelevant information, but including ordered details, is the direct goal of American linear thinking, writing and speaking. Americans generally tend to become quickly impatient with roundabout discourse. A listener may interrupt indirectness with, "OK, OK . . . so what's your point?" or "So, what is it you want?" Samoans will consider the style and form of their communication, the feelings of others present, and are less likely to feel constrained by actual facts. Thus Samoan patterns of thinking, as demonstrated by oral and literate traditions, are closer to Oriental patterns as characterized by Kaplan (1972).

Young middle class European American children are encouraged to "speak up" and be open in expressing their thoughts, opinions and emotions. Quite the opposite is true for Samoan children, whose contributions to adult conversations are not invited. Children learn early to utilize the social "masks" that veil strong emotions, particularly anger and disagreement. Continued or frequent smiles serve to appease superiors and produce smooth social relations. The effect in intercultural exchanges can be seeming agreement on the part of the Samoan. This desire to accomodate the other is manifest in the willingness, for example, to provide detailed and enthusiastic directions, whether or not the Samoan has the slightest idea of the real location of the traveler's intended destination. Such communications and intent can be the sources of cross-cultural misunderstandings, as others may not be aware of these possible consequences of Samoans' usual desire to please and to keep the peace. Samoans of all ages are generally uncomfortable with direct disagreeable confrontation. Thus, there are polite responses and there are truthful ones (Shore 1982)

Higher-ranking individuals are more likely to express their personal opinions and reactions than are lower-ranking persons whose viewpoints are expected to reflect traditional values, anyway (Duranti 1979). Orators or talking chiefs are allowed to say things that may not be well understood by others and they may even be praised for this behavior (Shore 1977).

For middle class European Americans, the major predictor of behavior within a given situation is the personalities of the participants. Communication interaction behavior of the Samoans is dependent upon the rank of each participant, their status relative to each other and the situation itself (Shore 1982). This has bearing on expectancies of classroom participation and especially volunteering by Samoan students. The deemphasis of the individual in Samoa and the elevation of group welfare throughout all activities warrents underscoring in this contrast between the cultures.

Learning English, for most Samoans, falls into the additive rather than subtractive category for bilingualism (Vogel 1978). There is, however, ambivalance toward foreigners and foreign culture; thus the ability to use English, in addition to Samoan, is viewed as a personal asset only for communication power with nonSamoan-speaking Europeans. For purposes of cultural solidarity, English is viewed as a divisive skill (Shore 1982). English is used by Samoans for (1) communications between Samoan elites for business related to Western matters, and (2) between Samoan elites and *palagi* (Europeans) when the *palagi* does not speak Samoan. In all other interactions, Samoan is the preferred language. This is surely an example of language adoption as the means to an end rather than the end itself.

Context Markers in Samoan Communications

Outward appearance: decorations of flowers, leaves; formal clothing versus informal; *lavalava* tying styles; school, church or other organizational uniforms.

Eye Gaze: listeners of any rank may gaze off into the distance or down when talking or listening; eye contact is not essential to confirm listening or sincerity of speaker.

Gesture: proximity (dependent upon rank, status and context of communication); movement (high status individuals will restrain from activity and be aloof from activity in their vicinity).

Posture: impolite to stand in house while talking; height denotes rank; frontness is demanded by higher rank.

Vocal: imploded whistle for animals and lower-ranking individuals; pitch is lower as subject and situation become more formal; speed is deliberate in direct relation to formality, i.e., less direct and longer messages signal higher degree of formality; specialized speech forms used for specialized occasions. The use of the specialized "chiefly" vocabulary reserved for speaking of and addressing holders of various titles.

-adapted from Shore, 1982.

Linguistic Considerations

Among the over 3000 languages in the world, an immense variety of possible language and communication behaviors have been discovered by anthropologists and linguists. As their work is translated into practical knowledge, teachers are enabled to alter classroom language uses while improving minority children's academic performance and social adjustment. This can help to narrow the often wide gap existing between the kinds of language uses chosen by the school and those developed in the family and community. The majority of American classroom materials currently in use are research-based on the unilinear development path of middle-class English speaking children (Heath, 1978). Thus schema presents problems of varying degrees and genres to children from other cultures and socio-economic backgrounds. Textbook writers, test makers, school boards and textbook committees, as well as many classroom teachers, demonstrate a growing level of awareness of these biases. However, materials are still catching up while at the same time more is being discovered and understood about the consequences of culturally-inappropriate materials and their presentation for across-the-board instruction in multicultural classrooms.

Specific language problems must be considered in their encompassing cultural context as matters of cross-cultural communication more generally. Thus Heath (1978) suggests three major sociocultural influences on children's language development generally that bear directly on the academic and social integration of culturally-different children: (1) parental assumptions about their role as teachers, (2) genres of uses of oral and written language and (3) links between the home and community and outside. How a Samoan child speaks, both in form and content, is strongly influenced by social norms for using language in Samoan households and by attitudes and beliefs concerning individuality, knowledge, and human competence (Ochs, 1982).

The lack of specific words for concepts of "personality" and "self" in the Samoan language underscore the significantly different understandings possible, as well as point up the communicative importance of situation, status and relationship over the individual in social interaction. The language itself manifests relational aspects of the individuals as being embedded in the group. For instance, whereas English speakers atomize social relationships by subordinating social groups to their constituent members, Samoan pronominal usage embeds the individual within the group (Shore and Platt, 1984). Samoan pronouns feature inclusive and exclusive forms in both the single and plural. This aspect of Samoan linguistics comes in particularly useful when asking for an item in the possession of another. The request is made: "*Fa'amolemole, e* ***matau*** *cigareti mai?*", thus

illustrating the conscious use of the inclusive pronoun, "Please, may I have one of **our** cigarettes?" This dual inclusive singular pronoun acceptably emphasizes a connection between the two individuals and suggests redefinition of ownership of the requested item, thus minimizing the chance of refusal.

Americans tend to make comparative judgments and the desire to do so is accomodated by the language. Whorf (1956) would likely state it the other way around; but in any case, the contrast with Samoan reality is instructive. In Samoa, comparisons are made only within the context of the situation; no external comparisons are usually attempted. Absolute terms are most common since comparison is difficult linguistically and clumsy without the more subtle gradations that the language lacks (Shore 1982). An example of the circumlocution necessary is the Samoan equivalent of "slower:" *telegese laititi poo le telegese teisi.*

The Samoan tends to respond in similiar way as do a number of other cultures to negatively-phrased tag questions (You won't be late for class, will you?). An American student responds to the context of such questions and the Samoan to the literal sense of the question. To avoid confusion for both parties, the teacher can avoid negatively-phrased tag questions and ask the question in another way until the student can be linguistically acculturated to the dominant culture's understanding and expected appropriate response. Americans routinely couch orders or requests in a polite form (Would you like to . . . ?). This would not be understood by a non-acculturated Samoan as intended, but rather as a question concerning his/her preference in the matter. These are but two types of "Americanisms" which the second language learner must put into his repertoire of idiomatic usages to gain a more native-like competency in English. Accomodations made by knowledgable teachers for these culturally-marked usages can greatly improve initial communication efforts by students with limited English and thereby give them additional confidence for subsequent efforts. The student should receive explicit instruction for many of these, as attempts to "figure them out" usually result in continuing misunderstandings.

The 14 letters of the Samoan alphabet are A E I O U F G L M N P S T and V. Words of foreign origin also use H K and R. An additional "sound" is that of the glottal stop which occurs either before or between vowels in some words (*fa'aSamoa, 'ava*). This indicated by a " ' ". The letter G in Samoan is not the same as the English G. It is naseated to have the sound of NG in "song" (Pago rhymes with ping pong). Each syllable has only one consonant and some words may have as many as five consecutive vowels to be sounded as distinct syllables and/or blends.

English sentences can be categorized as subject-initial and Samoan sentences as generally verb-initial; the most common variation in Samoan being O-V-S. This may be part of the problem for the student experiencing initial interference difficulties in reproducing English sentence structure while relying on interlanguage.

Phonological registers distinguish degrees of social solidarity. The "T" is in the Samoan written alphabet; the "K" is not. However, there has developed in the spoken language, a register which substitutes "K" for "T" in words. It is used in informal contexts and is sometimes called "*leaga*," or the "bad" way of speaking. The "K" form is used for most everyday conversation and bespeaks a solidarity, a real belonging for general use. This use is manifest in the preference for the "K" register by half-cast Samoans who wish to emphasize their "Samoaness" in a society whose cultural pride is fairly boundless (Shore 1984).

Lexical registers distinguish relations defined upon a continuum of power or authority. Special vocabulary words exist to be used when speaking or referring to chiefs of various ranks. The tack taken by the Samoan in expressing deference to another is commonly abasement; that is, using the lowly terms to refer to self and the honored terms to apply to the listener. True to Samoan form, however; no one goes away with nothing; such self-abasement confers honor on both the speaker and the adddressee.

Some of the major differences between Samoan and English are listed here with the view that some of the specifics may be of assistance to the teacher when needing to point out a feature of the English language that may or may not exist in Samoan.

Samoan Language

Pronounciation and Spelling

a. Samoan alphabet does not have consonants h, k, r, w, b, d, j, x, or z (except as used in words borrowed from other languages).
b. Vowel length is distinctive and variable and serves the purpose of distinguishing the word meaning.
c. Primary point of stress within a word occurs on the penultimate, or second to last, syllable.
d. The sentence stress within a question falls on a mid-sentence syllable, rather than the last, as is true in English.

Syntax

a. Word order in noun phrases and sentences is usually V-S-O and occasionally O-S-V, but rarely the usual English S-V-O.
b. Word order in interrogative sentences is usually the same as the declarative with sentence stress as the indicator.
c. Word order, to maintain sentence meaning, is much more flexible than in English.
d. Functions of words in Samoan sentences are usually determined by particles.

Pronouns

a. There is no word for "it," singular or plural. "It" is either eliminated altogther, or the phrase *o le mea* (the thing) is sometimes used.
b. There is no distinction between cases - as in the English "we" and "us." However, there are singular, dual and plural pronouns and exclusive and inclusive forms for the first and second person.
c. There are separate forms of the pronouns depending upon use as preverbal or postverbal.
d. Possessive pronouns follow the same pattern with additional *a* and *o* forms.

Nouns

a. All but five nouns do not have plural forms, but rather use a variety of noun modifiers or affixes to indicate number.
b. A noun may function as a verb; the form changing through addition of a prefix such as *fa'a* (in the manner of, like).

Verbs

a. Verbs are not inflected to show tense, but rather have 10 choices of indicating particles.
b. Many verbs have plural forms and are generally made

by doubling the first syllable.

c. There are a number of verbless sentences possible.
d. There are no words in Samoan that translate directly "to be" or "to have."
e. A verb may function as a noun.
f. The negative is indicated by "*le*" or "*l'ei*" before the verb.

Adjectives

Adjectives almost always follow the noun in Samoan. The adjective usually has a plural form although the noun generally does not change in form to become plural.

Prepositions and Conjunctions

a. Samoan has far fewer prepositions and conjunctions from which to choose than does English. Some have multiple meanings and depend upon position within the sentence for interpretation.
b. The Samoan conjunction "and" is frequently followed with a pronoun subject (usually incorrect usage in English).

Numbers

With the exception of "one," ordinal and cardinal numbers are expressed the same way.

Semantics

a. As does English, Samoan contains a good number of words that have two or more meanings depending upon their context in the sentence.
b. Meaning is more often expressed by a change in the stress or change in vowel length than is true in English. There are many words in this category.

Being aware of these differences can permit a teacher to identify when a Samoan student's interlanguage is such that Samoan structure knowledge is being relied upon for building English structure. Again, the explicit explanation of differences can assist the student in determining the correct choices for his/her new language and communicative efforts. The unnecessary and incorrect pluralization of nouns with "s" is also a frequent error that reflects the overgeneralization commonly associated with use of a newly-learned different form or function in a second language. Learning to use English verb tenses demands that the Samoan transfer what is known in his/her own language about the use of particles for indicating time of action to the manner in which time of action is expressed in English. Unfortunately, many Samoan students who have previously attended school in the islands may display fossilization of incorrect English language forms and structures. It has been observed by this writer that native elementary

school teachers commonly pass on a variety of these to their students. After the early teen years it is unlikely that native pronounciation will be mastered by second language learners. Although "foreign accents" still tend to create less than favorable impressions on many Americans, Standard English is not tied to a particular accent but rather is associated with written English.

Interlanguage varies significantly and systematically between groups from different first language backgrounds (Hansen-Strain 1989). Most teachers assume that learner's speech performance will be less accurate than their performance on a paper-and-pencil classroom test (Tarone 1985). However, Hansen-Strain's findings report the discrepancy between accuracy in oral performance and written tasks which tends to be greater for some groups of learners than for others. In her study of relative clause variation in English among six different Polynesian and Asian ESL speakers at the university level, she found the Polynesians' comparatively high level of relative clause mastery indicated by aural/oral tests but not by their lower scores on the written tests. The reverse was found true for the Asian native languages represented. Hansen-Strain's findings underscore the necessity for multiple modes of testing and evaluation for ESL learners, as well as careful consideration of decisions based on standarized tests since no test yet has been demonstrated to be culture-free.

Salu Reid (1982) constructed this chart of sounds identifying those more difficult for native Samoan speakers to pronounce correctly in oral English:

Problem Sounds for Samoans in Oral English

Sounds	English Examples	Native Substitutes
b	baby, bread, bye	p - sounding like "papy, pread"
d	dog, daddy	t - "tog, tatty"
g	good, go, give	k - "kood, ko, kif"
s - z	position	s - "poshition"
c	cake, come	ng - "gake, gum"
th	thing, birthday, with that, this	f - "fing, birftay" "wif" d - "dat, dis"

As is true for all second language learners, rapid speech and idioms are barriers to successful listening and response for Samoan students. Humor, being subject to culture-specific perceptions and understandings, is among

the later competancies to be mastered in a second language. Irony and its accompanying intonation patterns will likely be the most difficult.

Principles of child language acquisition of a native language can be applied to second language acquisition methodology in the following areas: (1) minimization of rote memorization and meaningless drill, (2) introduction of the second language in meaningful contexts, (3) communication practice for the children with native-speaking adults and peers in areas of high interest for the students, and (4) utilization of what is known in the first language to transfer to the second language (Heath 1978).

Research has shown that languages are learned, not through memorization of rules and structures, but through internalizing these rules from imput made comprehensible in a context of social interaction (Krashen 1978). Thus activities whose outcome depends upon information exchange and which emphasize collaboration and an equal share of responsibility among classroom participants will force the communicative efforts necessary from second language learners. Students will also benefit immensely from visual cues and concrete details as supports for their comprehension and production of new target words and structures (Pica 1987).

The native language literacy rate in both Samoas is about 90 percent. This high figure is attributed to the continued identification of literacy with religious beliefs (Huebner 1986). Until very recently all Samoan children attended pastors' schools beginning as preschoolers to learn to read the Bible and also to write in Samoan. Not all churches currently continue this practice, especially in American Samoa. The Church of Latter Day Saints, however, conducts daily early morning school sessions for school-age children. Emphasis is on reading and understanding the Book of Mormon in English, and the attending students' English often stands out in the public schools. Particularly noticeable is their advanced vocabulary, reading comprehension and working grasp of English sentence structure in both oral and written work.

Contrasts in Socialization

The American school system is essentially a middle class instititution and an implicit goal of that system is to socialize students through the beliefs, values and norms of the middle class. It is also the European middle class from which the majority of American teachers are drawn. However, students' ethnic backgrounds have become increasingly more varied by the growing influx of immigrants to the United States with the result that American culture is no longer exclusively a "melting pot" but rather more like a "salad bowl" (Takaki, 1987). The white, Anglo-Saxon melting pot-produced society does constitute the core majority. Although the MCEA is not actually a numerical majority in the United States, and cannot be considered homogeneous in many respects; it is this group which most clearly exemplifies the American macroculture's values, beliefs, and life style. As American society accepts the reality of cultural plurality and attempts to celebrate rather than erase cultural diversity, the schools must meet the challenge of making the middle class available to those who choose it, as well as accepting and legitimatizing the choice of those who do not. It is from this frame of reference that teachers are charged with expanding their repetroire of professional skills to include modeling the understanding of cultural others and accepting cultural diversity. The teacher whose students represent more than one culture, plays a far more global role in the life of most limited English speaking students, however; that of cultural mediator. The ability to get along with and understand others who are vastly different from ourselves can be taught and learned through increased awareness of the differences as well as the similarities.

Primary socialization, or enculturation, is the internalizing of values, attitudes, language patterns, customs, preferences and habit patterns of the early years of life and normally occurs within a single cultural setting. The culturally-shared "reality" of experience and perception are the basis of an individual's world view and is expressed through language and behavior. Socialization, however, does not end at late adolescence, but rather is a

process that continues throughout an individual's life. Secondary socialization, or acculturation (usually as a result of external pressures), represents changes in people's social and work activities as well as in their thinking patterns, values and self-identification (Gordon 1964). Assimilation, as characterized by European immigrants to America, results when the immigrant identifies with the new culture and rejects his own past.

One of the primary goals of American education has been the molding of a common social experience to acculturate immigrants and assist their assimilation efforts. The last great wave of immigration between 1901 and 1910 brought 8.8 million people to the United States. In the 1980's over 9 million foreign-born people arrived. According to the U.S. Department of Education (*Newsweek* 1991), the number of kindergarten-through-12th-grade students who have limited proficiency in English is now at least 2 million, or five percent of the the school population. More than 150 different languages are represented in schools nationwide and about 3.5 million schoolchildren are from homes where English is not the first language. The American school, as an institution, has not yet be able to incorporate the complexities of serving the myriad of ethnic groups not seeking full-scale assimilation. It is a far different matter to teach English to students whose families see "Americanization" as a primary goal than it is to teach English to students whose families desire to maintain participation in their native culture, particularly that as represented by their language. Trueba (1974) has underscored the importance for teachers of ethnic children to understand the nature of those families. He describes the family as the universally fundamental institution in which a person learns who he/she is; what the world around him/her is like; how he/she relates to that world, and above all, how one manipulates the complex symbolic systems of communication in order to store and transmit knowledge. The Samoan family's influence on children can be characterized as even more pervasive than that of the MCEA's because of its life-long primacy in almost all aspects of Samoan thinking, feeling, and conduct.

Cultures create and preserve common patterns of symbols, or communication and language, by which their members can assign and exchange meanings. Thus, behind the differences in language are the cultural differences in thought patterns, value systems, customs and ways of responding to symbols and people. These patterns of abilities, habits and predispositions to behave emerge when individuals interact with their social environments. Most of the elements of behavior patterns are functional for the particular environment in which a cultural group has existed for a long time. Some environments require that individuals develop skills as individuals; others require group action for survival. The differences result in culturally distinct perceptual and cognative styles and general personality attributes. When the environment changes, such as when the group-oriented Samons migrate to individualistically-oriented America, the result may be high levels of stress, a reduction in positive outcomes, lower self-esteem and general demoralization.

Using the framework suggested by Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986), Samoans may be described as displaying primary differences of cultural content as well as secondary differences of cultural style. The Samoans are willing to cross cultural boundaries only in certain areas of behavior and generally decline to accept most features of the MCEA's cultural norms and values. They are thus subject to considerable affective dissonance when they do any more than mimic the dominant culture's value system and tend, under pressure, to react from their Samoan-enculturated selves.

The differences in style are especially prominent in the areas of learning, communication and interaction. The Samoans who are successful by the dominant culture's definition are frequently those who have made significant personal sacrifices in separating themselves from their extended families and who participate infrequently with other Samoans in traditional cultural affairs and practices. Considerable personal consequences result from these decisions and must be considered as individuals make the choices necessary to move towards assimilation or, at the other end of the scale, to maintain maximum levels of primary socialization through cultural enclaving. A classroom teacher can best assist students from other cultures when he/she is aware of the position of each student in this regard. These are not choices made by school personnel; rather, they rightly come from the family and from the student and must be respected and accommodated by the school.

Cultural background, as represented by primary socialization, makes a difference in the social behavior of students irrespective of second language status. Culture cannot be considered separately from social interaction as it is what gives meaning to the interaction. Behavior is sometimes interpreted as "natural" when the shaping force is actually cultural. A culture's patterns and accompanying rules are far from obvious to outsiders (Barnland 1975) and the interpretation of violation in cultural others is more likely to be perceived as personal or deliberate deviance from dominant culture's expectations rather than as enactment of the immigrant's, and simply different, cultural ways. Lado (1957) points out that the "alien observer" discerns form and distribution of units of culture more easily than their meaning and thus, finding no meaning, regards the cultural other as "stupid or backward." This reaction may also be exaberrated when the observed is from a culture whose existence has been characterized or stereotyped as "simple" or "carefree" with the implication that the culture is probably not very "civilized."

Members of a culture have problems understanding patterns of not only other's cultures but also often have difficulty in interpreting and articulating the beliefs and values of their own primary socialization. Goffman's work illustrates this is often possible only when faced with violations (1963) and/or contrasts (1967). In other words, one's own cultural principles can be more easily discovered by examining the ways in which other societies carry out their socialization. A society's norms and folkways are far easier to identify, articulate and compare than are its values and beliefs. It is the values and beliefs, however, that, as the foundations of

norms and folkways, need examination to move cultural comparisons beyond stereotyping and triteness.

For the younger Samoan elementary student, and less so for adolescent high school student, the school will likely represent the major source of his/her most direct and significant experiences with middle class European American culture and the secondary socialization, or acculturation, which will occur to varying degrees. The school environment which devalues the ethnic or primary socialization of a child decreases his self-esteem and thus his ability to profit from the educational opportunity of schooling. The teacher must seek methods and skills for adding the necessary features of school language and culture to the student's experience and understanding without damaging the student's concept of him/herself, home or community. This means implementing the concept of accepting students where they are and building on the strengths they bring to school, rather than rejecting them as they present themselves and trying to remake them in the school's image. All secondary socialization must be filtered and made to fit within the social construction of reality internalized during primary socialization. No two individuals will identically filter the secondary socialization.

Even within the Samoan community, families will develop varying degrees of secondary socialization and therefore a teacher cannot assume an alikeness of home experience and culture for each child. Some Samoan parents may use English almost exclusively in the home; others may not be able to speak more than a few words in English. Some families may push their children to learn American ways; others may resist their children's acculturation actively. Some families continue to practice *fa'a Samoa* as much as possible within their closely-knit communities; others may try to remove themselves entirely from the reciprocal demands of the Samoan culture. The point at which each child is on this continuum of second culture experience and language usage needs to be determined by the teacher. Only then can the needs of the child be addressed on a truly appropriate level to maximize academic and social performance.

As the section outlining general differences (pgs. 25 - 33) indicates, there are a number of significant and sometimes opposing values held by the two cultures. One of the more striking differences revolves around the cultural perception of the individual in relation to the whole of society. Middle class European American culture holds that its members are individuals first and community members second.

> "The self-centeredness begins practically at birth. It is seldom questioned; it is implicitly accepted that people should be able to decide for themselves, develop their own opinions, solve their own problems, have their own things, and in general, learn to view the world through the point of view of the self. One of the results is that by the time

individuals become adults, they are likely to believe that self-centeredness is a universal human value."
[Gudykunst, Stewart and Ting-Toomey, 1985]

While social psychologists such as Mischell (1968) and sociologists like Goffman have stressed the critical importance of contextual factors in shaping all human response, it would seem that a context-sensitive theory of social action is especially apt in cultures which do not stress the person as a locus of activity, but rather emphasize situational factors as the natural source of human motivation. Whereas Western indigenous psychologies are predicted upon the primacy of the person as a moral unit (Dumon 1970; Trill 1971), Samoan culture tends to articulate no clear concept equivalent to "the individual" or "personality," so that social relations and social setting are the dominant determinants (Shore 1982). The MCEA who is aware of this is less likely to make erroneous judgments since it will be understood that it is more difficult to infer properties of personality from instances of an individual Samoan's behavior than it is from a fellow American.

In contrast to the Western conception of self and society, Samoans regard themselves first as members of the community and to a much lesser degree, and secondarily, as individuals. Relationships tend to be more social than personal. Samoans are more conscious of their social responsibilities than they are of responsibility to their individual selves. Personal names are reminders of shared events or indicators of their relationship to other members of the community. Names change to reflect changed relationships; not only of self, but also of the family. When an individual is given a formal title, the last name of all immediate family members becomes that of the title. For the titleholder him/herself, the title becomes the first name with the former first name reverting to the last name and the former last name being dropped from usage. The traditional name change for a Samoan woman upon marriage is the adoption of her husband's first name, not his last, as her last name. Individuals may also hold more than one or two titles and the order in which those titles are arranged and the name by which the titleholder chooses to be addressed have considerable social meaning. These may also change with social situation and contexts. Thus, names mark relationships more than distinct individuals. The frequent informal adoptions of related or non-related children may or may not result in name changes.

The sides of an individual gain prominence at given times based upon social context rather than upon personality (Shore 1982). A Samoan may express an opinion on an issue with one of his/her "sides" that is in direct conflict with his/her opinion as expressed by another of his/her "sides." No inconsistancy or contradiction is experienced since, from the Samoan perspective, each side is a legitimately separate part of his/her whole. This "wholeself," in fact, is conceived quite differently from the "wholeself" as viewed by the MCEA.

From a Samoan perspective, a person has little control over his/her actions. Persons are not conceptualized as integrated beings; they do not attribute to a central control mechanism, the organization and direction of human actions and states. Bodily actions and functions are associated with particular body parts and not with a focal governing source. Rather than persons generating states of being, these states are often seen as situationally or externally caused (Shore 1983). Classroom complications can be foreseen in a favorite teacher exhortion: "Control yourself!" Self control is not really that in a Samoan context; rather it is control of self due to the expectations of and the relationships with the group.

Syntactically, the Samoan language de-emphasizes the individual central control as manifested by the lack of a true reflexive construction, although forced paraphrasing is possible. Language here gives insight into culturally-determined perceptions of the basis of conduct. Thus we have the concept of a person suggested that is fragmented and not strongly in control of actions and states (Shore 1982). This concept of separated parts is also illustrated frequently in depictions of the human body in numerous pieces of Samoan art.

Samoans divide conduct into two categories: that of *amio* (natural behavior) and that of *aga* (socially appropriate conduct). When *amio* leads to socially offensive behaviors, the actor is held responsible in the sense that some form of negative sanction will be imposed upon him/her. The action itself, however, will not be seen as an outcome of the actor's own control or direction (a product of his intention). In this sense, good can be defined as the absence of evil. Only the social consequences of the action are at issue (Shore 1982).

Samoan children are generally unable to provide a motive for their misconduct. They may simply keep their head and eyes averted and make no reply until they are coached in making "excuses" or giving reasons in the American style. Cultural focus for the Samoan is on not why the act occurred but rather on the social effects of the act. Motive plays little part in appraisal of the action. In many instances, searching for motive is regarded as unnecessarily extending the awkwardness of conflict. The goal is to return the group to a harmonious balance so all members again feel good. Remorse and guilt for untoward acts are downplayed; shame and embarassment are more important as deterrents against bad conduct or failure to show proper respect (Shore 1982). For MCEA's, guilt and individual conscience loom much larger for social control. Feeling shame as a result of his/her group's knowledge of the deed figures almost exclusively for the Samoan. This shame is further reflected upon the entire family, not just the miscreant him/herself. In the not too distant past, an entire extended family could be ordered by the *fono* to leave a village with all their dwellings and crops burned as the punishment for one member's misdeed.

The contrast with middle class European American assumptions is exemplified by attitudes toward what makes something wrong. Generally, for Samoans, wrongs are wrongs only if known and/or observed by another.

Samoan law and enforcement seem to be mutually definitional. It may be acceptable to do an act at night or secretly, when no one would observe it, but the same thing by daylight, where others would see, would be very wrong (Shore 1982). Public pressure, expectation and demand enforce acceptable public behavior. Again, translation from Samoan to English is enlightening: *agasala*, meaning "sin," literally is "punished behavior."

The process of socialization is seen as the transmission of *aga* from caregiver to child (Ochs 1988). The word for "bad" is *leaga*, literally meaning, "without *aga*." Thus children are considered to be lacking the ability to do good until a certain level of maturity is achieved. Moral knowledge is seen to reside in the relationship between the actor and the observer. Consistency to context but not necessarily betweeen contexts is the logical basis of the Samoan moral system (Shore, 1984). There is no privileged moral viewpoint outside any social context. Samoan conceptions of moral responsibility make actors dependent upon relationships. Evil- and misbehavior generally are externalized as distortions of proper relationships and situations rather than attributed to agents or individuals (Shore 1982). Samoan social control stresses social context as a prime motivational factor in Samoan behavior. Samoans develop highly relational identities and in a very significant sense there is no absolute reference point for personal identity once they are outside any social context (Shore 1982). Samoans are in almost constant social interaction and sociability is a strongly approved value.

Infancy

Some of the more striking contrasts in these two cultures appear in the treatment of an infant. The middle class European American (MCEA) baby is viewed as an individual from birth and begins life with an egocentric orientation. The baby is directly addressed by his parents as a competent listener and adults aid and encourage interaction by assuming the burden for deciphering the slightest sounds and movements that might indicate communication from the newcomer. It is natural for caregivers to acknowlege unclarity and to make conjectures about the intended meaning. Caregiver speech can be considered linguistic expression of a larger set of behaviors that are culturally organized (Ochs 1982). Physically, the baby is held facing the caretaker and most early "conversation" is dyadic. After this beginning the MCEA adult devotes much time to encouraging and assisting the language development of infants.

These social exchanges are facilitated by the adult taking the perspective of the infant. The focus of attention is the child and the starting point of interactions with adults is usually the child's actions and verbalizations. Expansion statements are used by adults for displaying and transmitting to children the culturally appropriate framework for handling problematic situations. In total, these processes socialize the child into culturally specific modes of organizing knowledge, thought and language (Ochs 1982).

The Samoan baby is welcomed into a sociocentric world and viewed as a community member. As is the rest of Samoan society, caregiving is socially

stratified. Shortly after the birth of a Samoan baby, the primary responsibilities for daily care are delegated to an older sister, cousin or other extended family member in the compound. Child-initiated interaction with parents is likely to be deflected to one or more lower-ranking immediate caretakers. The parent will tell the caretaker the response to make to the child. The young Samoan child thus learns to participate in verbal interactions with adults and older siblings in ways that are strikingly different from those of the middle-class Anglo child. The European/Western ABAB discourse pattern is simply not primary for conversational and communication interaction for the young Samoan child (Ochs 1982). Early conversations are conducted in triads or groups with the child being told what to say to a third party. The Samoan infant is more often spoken about than to (Ochs 1982). Baby utterances are not considered real communication until understandable words emerge and prior sounds are considered some other langauge or animal sounds. The burden is upon the child to make him/herself understood and rarely will the caregiver attempt clarifying interpretation. Language used by caretakers is not lexically or syntactically simplified and speech by parents usually directed at rather than with the child. From the one-word stage on, children are directed to notice others and to respond to their actions. A baby is held and fed in position away from the caretaker and towards others in the group. Language is seldom consciously taught to infants and the expansion efforts of the parents or caregivers are equally limited. Children are seen as active agents in their own language learning without specific instructions from elders. Parents assume language acquisition is concurrent with other maturation and the development of discriminative judgement (Ochs 1988).

This early language contact is in accord with the communication mode and style of each culture: early emphasis upon what is said by and as individuals for the MCEA and a more contextualized group introduction for the Samoan baby.

Early Childhood
Ages 2 to 5

The freedom to try out communication with those who already know how continues with an emphasis upon self-awareness and individuality for the MCEA child. Adult perception of very small children as social persons guides their assumptions that children can and do control and guide their actions towards some goal. Children's freedom of movement is generally fairly unrestrained. Parents are primary caretakers and care by older siblings or relatives is regarded as "babysitting" and thus secondary and usually temporary. Parents respond directly to a child in child-initiated interactions. The first words after family member names are primarily object nouns. There is early emphasis on learning to take care of oneself and on self-development in line with the MCEA's high value on independence and individual initiative.

Children learn to expect direct adult intervention in their activities but adult authority and directives are often accompanied by choices for the children to make. Considerable opportunities are provided for developing problem-solving skills. Children's views and comments are not only welcome but often solicited in family decisions and affairs. Children are often allowed to challenge adult directives by asking for justification and reasons. Furthermore, children's desires are not uncommonly factors in family decisions. The MCEA family tends to be child-centered with parents often providing considerable service to their children. There is heavy reliance upon verbal learning and instruction that may or may not be accompanied by modeling or example. Children are even discouraged in some instances from following adult examples, as when a parent orders, "Do as I say; not as I do". Children are expected to be able to provide a reason or motive for misconduct or accidents. Motive is counted important in determining the degree of transgression and the appropriate punishment.

The sociocentric orientation of the Samoan family and community is evident in the expectation of the child to provide service to anyone of higher status or rank (and since age is a part of status, for a child this includes almost everyone). Dependence upon others is encouraged, especially as children are considered initially incapable of responding appropriately to social instructions and sanctions. Even slightly older siblings are given primary care responsibilities and the Samoan preschooler is as likely as an adolescent have authority over younger siblings or cousins. The caretaking responsibility and role is considered a privilege, and yet another opportunity for expression of growth within the extended family.

Samoan custom traditionally reserves the right of speech to elders. Children learn to approach adults for conversation purposes when the "time is right," thus developing a high sensitivity and receptivity to meanings and feelings in others. Adult and higher-ranking authority is not open for questioning by children or the lower-ranking; and especially not for negotiation of orders or decisions once rendered. Adults make most decisions for children and this further encourages dependence upon others as they are taught and expected to await directions from elders before acting. (This may be a source of the often-heard judgement that Samoans lack initiative.)

Young children are taught not to bother adults and are usually under the supervision of older children. When around parents or other higher-ranking individuals, children generally have an open ear to listen for requests for service. Inclusion in group activities and decisions encourage the Samoan child's learning. This group orientation extends to provide opportunities for observation and imitation of older siblings and adults as the primary mode of learning. Additionally, the groups provide more than one authority and this diffusion of authority extends to the older children, cousins, aunts, uncles and grandparents in the family. Rarely does a Samoan adult or caretaker verbally instruct a younger child on how to do a task. Children learn by passive observation and then imitating the task. After long periods of observation children will attempt to duplicate the adult example.

When elders assist directly with the learning of a skill or competency, demonstration and modeling are favored over verbal directions. This style of learning is likely, at least initially, to cause problems for the Samoan child whose classroom directions will, in the majority, be verbal, as well as not in his/her native language.

Toddlers are taught to "center" and contain themselves by sitting for extended periods of time with arms and legs folded. This practice is called *teu*, which translates "making order from disorder": which again implies that good is the absence of evil. By age four, Samoan children have been well inititated in contributing to the family well-being. They pick up leaves from the yard, roll up sleeping mats, shoo away chickens or pigs from the house, and most impressively, transmit oral messages from elders of their own family to elders of another. The messages are expected to be delivered exactly as given and can be of considerable length and complexity.

Children's communicative attempts are not catered to by adults so children are forced to put greater effort into designing their communications to be intelligible to their caretakers. The first words, after family members' names, are verbs of action and feeling (*fia e*, eat; *fia fia*, happy; *pau*, fall; *su'e*, carry or pick up; *pati*, clap; *tagi*, cry; *moe*, sleep; *siva*, dance, etc.). In the extended family, adults spend less time addressing children and demanding their attention than is true in the MCEA nuclear family. Adults do not engage children in the common MCEA conversational interactions which feature the adult asking the child a question to which the adult already knows the answer. Prolonged questioning of a child by a Samoan parent would be in the case of suspected or known wrong-doing on the child's part and thus very uncomfortable for the child. In the Western classroom this type of questioning, even about subject matter, is initially embarrassing for a Samoan child, and as with many of the other primary cultural differences, the teacher can ease the child through the transition period using explicit explanations of the second culture that accompanies not only the second language he/she is learning, but also how it is to be learned.

The interconnectedness of the Samoan community network is reflected in the fact that any adult may freely scold children. If the offense is serious enough the child may be formally shamed or hit. Middle class European American parents can be quite touchy about discipline of their own children, and generally reserve correction by themselves only. The theories of child-raising featuring democratic and *laissez-faire* techniques have not yet made substantial impressions in Samoa and discipline in the home is usually quite authoritarian and strict by MCEA standards. Biblical reference is sometimes cited by Samoans as justification of physical discipline. It may, in fact, have been unwittingly encouraged by the first Christian missionaries. Some of their early accounts include reports of Samoan parents' "excessive leniency" in discipline of "wild-spirited" children (Barradale 1907). Children are taught to not openly rebel against authority. Sassing or "back talk" from children is a phenomenon few traditional Samoan parents are very familiar with.

Samoans recognize an emotional and intellectual state of mind they call *musu*. It is characterized by a sullen withdrawal from usual areas of participation and may be interpreted by an American as pouting. It is that, but also much more, since simple pouting is not a luxury many Samoans permit themselves. *Musu* is about the only culturally-allowed overt expression of depression (Freeman 1983). Those in the thros of *musu* may leave home for one or more days, but be their normal selves upon return. The incidence of suicide in Samoa, often by ingestion of the herbicide Paraquat, is especially high among young men. It seems often to be the result of extreme shame or severe blow to the pride that may seem unbearable to face at the moment.

In both Samoas, students call teachers by their first names. Children of all ages in Samoa also call their parents by their first names rather than refer to them in some form of "mother" or "father," but they will the generic when speaking to Europeans about their parents.

Another Samoan practice, which is found in some other cultures as well, is that of responding to "Hello" from a European in a brief passing meeting with "Goodbye." Children, especially, will ask "Where are you going?" of people they encounter, primarily as a way of being friendly, rather than meaning it as an actual inquiry, although they also would enjoy the answer. This use was highlighted for the author by the experience of being asked the question when walking into the shallow water of a beach.

In English, the hour and minute indicators on a clock or watch are called "hands," and in Samoan, "legs." The English exchange in response to a favor, courtesy or gift is "Thank you" and "You're welcome." The exchange in Samoan is *"Fa'afatai"* and *"Fa'afatai foi,"* which translates "Thank you" and "Thanks to you also" or "Indeed." The Samoan, "You're welcome," *"O fia mai,"* is used only to greet a visitor to a home or event.

From the Samoan viewpoint, public intimacy displays such as handholding or touching, even by spouses, is considered improper and to be reserved for private moments. Husbands and wives would not sit together on a bus, and when walking together, don't. These restrictions do not apply with full force to the very young or elderly. Physical intimacies, such as walking arm-in-arm or hand-in-hand, are common in Samoa between people of the same sex, especially between the young and unmarried. It is not considered deviant or improper, nor is such contact associated with sexual relations in any way (Ochs 1988). My Samoan students often preferred to sit close together by twos in class with one arm over the shoulder of the other, thus encouraging left-handed note-taking on the part of one of the pair.

Samoa is very much a male-dominated society, but generally there is evidence of a greater degree of androgeny permitted for both sexes than in the United States. Both men and women can be and are titleholders. There is a cultural division of labor but the dividing line is broader and less clear. Both sexes harvest the sea. Men use spears and nets on the reef and use canoes in and outside the reef; women's "fishing" consists primarily of overturning rocks near the shore in shallow water for shellfish, sea cucumbers and urchins. Men plant and work the taro and banana plantations; but women

generally gather and process the cocoa pods. Men build fires and cook food in the ground ovens (*umus)*; women use the open fires and pots. Men build the infrastructure for houses (*fales*); women weave the outer blinds and mats. Both men and women will be seen marketing produce, fish and handicrafts in the Apia and Pago Pago open markets. Samoan males are not less prone to a display of emotions in the sentimental range and they certainly accept and welcome a larger share of child care, especially for infants and preschoolers, than do their American counterparts. Despite Freeman's (1983) characterization of Samoan males as excessively aggressive and violent due to early repression of strong emotions, there is as much evidence of gentleness among men as among women.

The social relationships among Samons do not necessarily involve intense personal involvment. Rather, it is true that relationships do not demand depth to be effective and satisfying. In trying to develop relationships with Samoans, Americans can be misled by overt similarities of perceptual orientation, and are then disappointed if a relationship does not develop the depth they would ordinarily expect of more than casual acquaintance. The American might be erroneously attribute this failure to his or the Samoan's personal self when it is, in fact, more likely a result of two sets of differing expectations about what the relationship can or should be.

Samoan time can probably be characterized, as described by Hall (1983) as polychronic in that the linear aspect is more synchronized with nature. More than one activity may be engaged in simultaneously and clock time is loosely interpreted. It is more important to be where one is at the moment than to be somewhere else on time. Since an individual's inner sense of time is ultimately intimately culture-bound, the perception and expression of time is a significant factor in intercultural communications and relationships (Bruneau 1979).

All education worthy of the name is multicultural.
-John Edwards

School Research and Classroom Applications

Some generalizations on reaching native-speaker norms in academic achievement in a second language are reviewed here as background for the comparison and contrast of the school-related aspects of the two cultures. These generalizations by Collier (1989) represent new syntheses of common patterns in research findings. She notes that most comparisons of student achievement are given using national norms of standardized tests and that these are not the best measures of second language proficiency.

1. When students are schooled in two languages, with solid cognitive academic instruction provided in both the first and second languages, both language minority and language majority students generally take from 4 to 7 years to reach national norms on standardized tests in reading, social studies, and science (measures of thinking skills), whereas their performance may reach national norms in as little as 2 years in L1 and L2 tests in mathematics and language arts (the latter testing spelling, punctuation, and simple grammar points). Social class background does not appear to make a significant difference in academic achievement in a dual-language program.

2. Immigrants arriving at ages 8 to 12, with at least 2 years of L1 schooling in their home country, take 5 to 7 years to reach the level of average performance by native speakers on L2 standardized tests in reading, social studies, and science when they are schooled exclusively in the second language after arrival in the host country.

3. Young arrivals with no schooling in their first language in either their home country or the host country may take even longer to reach the level of average performance by native speakers on L2 standardized tests: possibly as long as 7 to 10 years in reading, social studies and sciece, or indeed, never.

4. Adolescent arrivals who have had no L2 expose and who are not able to continue academic work in their first language while they are acquiring their second language do not have enough time left in high school to make up the lost years of academic instruction. Without special assistance, these students may never reach the 50th NCE (normal curve equivalent) or may drop out before completing high school. This is true both for adolescents with a good academic background, and for those whose schooling has been limited or interrupted.

5. Consistent, uninterrupted cognitive academic development in all subjects throughout students' schooling is more important than the number of hours of L2 instruction for successful academic achievement in a second language.

How these apply to Samoan students is much the same for any other minority language student. It seems inescapable that prior and/or concurrent L1 schooling contributes mightly to the second language learners' academic achievement. As there are no bilingual programs conducted in Samoan, and Samoan students are very unlikely to receive L1 academic instruction at home, the prognosis for their academic achievement in L2 is not optimistic. The junior high or senior high school student who has been instructed only in his native language for 7 - 10 years is, from Collier's syntheses, in an unfortunate position of probably not being able to continue in school long enough to make significant academic achievement possible. A Samoan ninth-grader will have had 3 - 5 years of linguistically-mixed instruction with the amount and quality of English included dependent upon the particular teachers. However, the grade level of material presented in American Samoa, especially, is probably at least two years behind that in the States. Additionally, students in the American Samoan high schools are tracked into three and sometimes four levels. Most often the tracking centers on English skills rather than demonstration of any independent academic ability. The three or four tracks range from basic beginner ability to almost fully proficient. It is this writer's informal assessment, after teaching three years at the high school level in Samoa, that most high school students from the islands will be unlikely to benefit appreciably from mainland grade level instruction without bilingual or ESL support. The exceptions would be a minority of students in the highest track. Characteristics of those students might include (1) early childhood in the United States with perhaps some

prior attendance at mainland elementary schools, (2) parents who speak primarily English in the home and/or a native-English speaking parent, or (3) the ability and willingness to speak English with peers outside the classroom,

The child just beginning school and having no formal instruction in Samoan appears also to be at quite a disadvantage. A possible help for these younger students might be the mainland institution of the "pastor's school," once widespread in the islands. These late afternoon or early evening sessions could provide basic Samoan literacy (reading and wrting) through the use of the Samoan Bible. Many mainland-raised Samoans do not develop full fluency in Samoan. They often are able to understand, but not speak, read or write competently in Samoan. This situation contributes to problems in family communications, especially with the elders.

The contrasts pointed out here are thought to have relevance in the school environment academically, socially and personally. They, again, are intended as poles of a continuum along which individuals from either culture may be found.

School-Related Culture

Middle Class European American	**Traditional Samoan**
Guessing and trial and error are legitimate learning devices.	Would prefer not to respond or or to have to indicate a lack of knowledge than to make an incorrect guess.
Accustomed to being rewarded, usually verbally, for display knowledge and skills. Demonstrating superior abilities is encouraged.	Display of knowledge or and skills, especially to a group of which may not share that information, may be may be considered *fiapopo*, or showing off.
Correction of error or misbehavior received with contrite expression or behavior.	Castigation is often responded to with a smile. It should be interpreted as embarassment; not as a rejection of the correction.
Cultural encourages trying to figure out what others are thinking, especially for "keeping ahead of the other guy."	Cultural dispreference for "guessing" what others might be thinking or have had in mind as a basis for action (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1982). However, taking others' perspectives as a

	means of maintaining harmonious social relationships is modeled as a highly-valued social skill.
Children are prepared for school through listening to parents and older siblings. Parents have experienced the system firsthand.	Many parents are unfamiliar with modern Western schooling; thus they are less able to assist child with what to expect or with problems that arise.
Attitude of learning from one's mistakes has strong approval.	Concept of *m a*, or shame, is a major inhibitor, especially for adolescents.
Reading is regarded as an enriching and highly desirable activity.	Traditional view of reading (except for the Bible) is of it being a non-social and lonely activity.
Books in home, early reading activities are encouraged. Children's literacy activities are initiated and pursued by the parents.	The Bible and hymnals are often the only reading materials in the home.
Parents able and willing to help children with their homework.	Children generally unlikely to receive parental help with homework. Parental language difficulties and parents' priorities on family obligations and household chores and duties assigned to children are common barriers.
Appropriate setting and time is usually provided by the parents. Task is encouraged by parents.	Samoan home may contain large numbers of family members and so space and appropriate environment are likely to be lacking.
Americans speak of needing "time to myself" or "to be alone."	Samoans likely to avoid situations not including the opportunity for social interaction.

Helping others is secondary to achieving own goals and serving own needs.	Helping others in group is both personally and socially rewarding. Group goals are more readily ascribed to than individual ones.
Society values an agressive, self-reliant and competitive individual.	Society values an individual who is willing to subordinate own interests to group welfare through cooperative inter-dependence.
Skill in listening to one conversation at a time.	Likely to have considerable skill in listening to two or more simultaneous conversations. Thus, an American teacher's statement of "fact," "You can't pay attention to me and to others at the same time," may not be Samoan reality.
School rules often include such warnings as "Keep your hands and feet to yourself and "Do your own work." Work done with help from others is less highly regarded than that resulting from own individual effort. (Pride is evidenced in early childhood statement, "I did it ALL by myself.")	Samoans have physically warm, tactile childhood with same-sex handholding and arms on shoulders. Friendly jabs and punches are common displays in close physical proximity. In Samoan schools, two or three students can be observed sitting tightly shoulder-to shoulder, or in other ways, maintaining close physical contact when doing schoolwork or playing.
Accustomed to verbal rewards for display of knowledge and for good performances.	A greater degree of inclusion in group and more participation in group decisions is anticipated reward for quiet acquisition of skills, knowledge and evidence of maturation.
Individual and personal factors often take precedence in selection and acceptance of peer leaders.	Deference will be given to societal rank and/or group-selected leader.

Individual competitiveness encouraged and stressed.	Group welfare has higher value than that of any individual.
Parents use free community resources and private lessons for children's physical and cultural enrichment.	Parents will be unlikely to seek out such activities, primarily due to language barriers. Also, children are likely to have duties at home that effectively detract from available free time.
Students, especially at elementary levels, are usually forbidden to share lunch food with others.	Not sharing food is considered very selfish and runs counter to important cultural values. In Samoa, food is a powerful symbol of community.
Parents feel free to challenge school decisions regarding their children and participate in making policy through boards and committees.	Parents may or may not have sufficient English proficiency to participate in school activities In the islands, the teacher is viewed as the "expert" and parents rarely attempt to act as an advocate for their children in school matters.

Children's and their parents' attitudes and motivations, many of which are culture specific, clearly affect learning. Cultural attitudes and values most assuredly affect teaching as well, since educators acquire these as members of their own cultural group and display different attitudes towards and have varying expectations of students in regard to their individual abilities and talents on the basis of the child's membership in particular groups, the most obvious of which are social class, sex, and ethnicity (Rist 1970, Leacock 1969, Brophy and Good 1970, Lambert 1972). Teacher expectations of a student are limited by the teacher's perception of what is possible. Educators, themselves, must be viewed as having been acculturated successfully into the subculture of the educational system in that they are transmitters of these attitudes, values and expectations (Saville-Troike 1974). Teachers need to be able to articulate these patterns of their own culture and the school subculture to gain perspectives on the less-than-universal reality of those patterns so they can be shared with their students. The greater the degree of self-awareness, the more likely it is that one's understanding of the unfamiliar will transcend the superficial and trite differences easily observable in other cultures.

Conflict of values is very real in education. How people learn or what different cultures feel it is important to learn translates itself into a

continuing discussion of teaching methods (Craft 1984) as well the expected results of that learning. The Samoan culture prizes retention of rote learning while MCEA culture seeks training for individual problem-solving through underlying highly verbal, objective and non -emotional communication of facts. The stress on "objective reality" in American classrooms is far removed from the Samoan emphasis on "interpersonal reality." One culture views questions as questioning facts; the other as questioning authority. Challenging a teacher's presented "fact" or opinion will be negatively viewed by the Samoan. The challenge is seen to be to the higher-ranking individual as the authority. This rudeness would also be seen as showing off and above all, disrespectful, in challenging a person of greater age and obviously higher social ranking.

Other areas in which conflict may be created by Western classroom expectations are the importance of cooperation versus competition, of aggression versus compliance, of anonymity versus self-assertion, and the relative value of time. Competition in Samoa is favored in the context of a cooperative group against another group. Striving for individual excellence is almost always in relation to its contribution to the group. Samoans, just as Americans, are both aggressive and compliant. Context, as culturally perceived and acted in, is the difference in which behavior is preferred and selected by the members of each culture. Cultural differences aside, it is generally true that the outsider among many insiders will prefer to not call attention to him/herself. Even if the classroom teacher acts on his/her most humanistic instincts to view all students as "the same" and to treat them that way, it does not automatically change an individual student's perception of the situation, nor the fact that all students, especially in a multicultural classroom, are not "the same." As previously discussed, the Samoan conception of time is traditionally much more polychromic than the MCEA's. To urge a student to be "on time," to turn in homework "in time," is assigning one culture's sense of time to another's and it is not that simple. The current American sense of "time as money" is a rigid legacy from our Puritan ancestors' preoccupation with productive work and their view of wasted time as sinful. To an individual who experiences no discomfort or impatience waiting for one to two hours to make a deposit or withdrawal in a bank line, who may wait for three or four hours for a boat between islands, and for whom "tomorrow" may be the next day, next month or next year, time is measured, used, and valued very differently.

If the dominant culture's values are being resisted, it is likely the language representing those values would also be resisted. Social and psychological distance are factors in poor acquisition of English for many minority students. This is Schumann's (1978) and Alptekin's (1974, 1981) prediction of the outcome of English language learning for a student who is constantly reminded outside of school that the English-speaking world is not his world. The forced total immersion of the culturally different child into the "melting pot" of the all-English-speaking school imposes a social order that can lead the child to reject his language, family, beliefs, values, and

himself. Trueba (1974) sees this as the only rational explanation for the high drop-out rates of culturally different children from such schools. Academic achievement in American school settings is often quite low among Samoan students with a resulting high dropout rate. They are recipients of discriminatory actions and language. Their perceptions of these are seconded by adult family members as events are remembered and discussed. The everyday example of connection between academic efforts and future employment opportunity is absent for the majority of Samoan youth. This is further reinforced by their growing awareness that the attitudes, values and conduct conducive to school success are, to a considerable degree, incompatible with those of their home and native culture.

The Samoan child, first entering a Western-style school, will typically encounter the communication difficulties of dealing with a second language. However, there are also young Samoans who do not have the language problems, yet they experience dissonance non-linguistic in origin created by the differences between the culture of the modern Western classroom and the culture of Samoa. For some students, previously learned patterns of social interaction are not of value in the school situation and new roles must be acquired and they can often benefit from a teacher's explicit guidence in recognizing and acquiring them.

Although Samoan children may use English in school, they most likely do so in accordance with Samoan rather than Western norms for speaking. The teacher can make the assumption that breaking social rules of usage is done by a non-native speaker of English because he/she does not know the rule - not from rudeness or insubordination (Rivers, 1972). A certain proficiency in speaking English in accordance with grammatical rules does not necessarily imply an understanding of differences between Samoan and Anglo ways of speaking.

Breaking rules of grammar may make one difficult to be understood, but breaking social rules of usage can be much more serious; it can create ill will toward the speaker if the listener does not understand that cultural differences may be the source of the infraction. Suei (1983) notes subtle but important differences in Samoan versus Anglo ways of speaking can have a major effect on the way an Anglo perceives the conversation. In answering affirmatively to a question a Samoan often raises his eyebrows with no verbal response and without necessarily making eye contact. This will likely result in a variety of interpretations in teacher-student, parent-teacher, interviewer-interviewee, and employer-employee interaction and probably none to the advantage of the Samoan. Another communicative body gesture practiced by many Samoans is pointing with the lips, and sometimes chin or shoulders, instead of the hand and fingers.

The Samoan interpersonal interaction style differs to the degree that misunderstandings are common between teacher and student and classmates and student. For example, the traditional upbringing of the Samoan student will not prompt him to point out his own instances of misunderstanding to an adult of higher rank or to highlight to that individual any indication of

distress that might spoil what appears to the teacher to be a productive learning experience or pleasant personal interaction. Maintaining social relations is far more important in Samoan culture than expressing disagreement or lack of understanding and especially, a lack of knowledge. So it is that Samoans often will answer in the way they think the person listening expects or wants. This value expresses itself in everyday life when a Samoan makes an agreement overtly which he covertly has no intention of honoring. It is usually felt to be far worse to disagree with someone in authority, or to not give the anticipated reply, than not do what has been agreed upon. The culture of middle class European America views this as deceptive while the Samoan regards it as essential interpersonal politeness and good manners (Shore, 1986).

This is also an instance of the student being caught between differing value orientations and between allegiance to home or school. Accepting the goal of success in school often requires alienation from home, family, friends and cultural heritage. The cultural verbal and nonverbal clues of the classroom will likely differ for Samoan students and this incongruence may be detrimental to their substantive participation opportunities. Specifically, asking questions or volunteering answers requires self-assertion and thus the Western school system penalizes students who value anonymity by not expressing sensitivity to their unasserted needs and strengths. Brophy and Good (1974) suggest that teachers may have to become more proactive in initiating interactions and providing encouragement, praise and reinforcement to students from cultural backgrounds different than their own. This observation applies as well to students from a number of other South Pacific and Asian cultures.

An example of misunderstanding possible between students might be in the case of an American student loaning an item to a Samoan student. This item might be then given to one of the Samoan's siblings or friends, or even lost and the American student would be understandably disturbed when he/she was unable to retrieve it. Possessions are not considered by Samoans as being really owned by any one individual. Loaning is more of a way of passing around in the sense of sharing. Samoans generally do not place high value on or take great care of material possessions, either those of their own or those of others. Admiration for anything possessed by a Samoan must be carefully expressed. I have seen a young Samoan man whose shirt was openly admired by another; within seconds, he had whipped off the shirt and was helping his friend into it. In the same way, a resident of a home will be obliged to offer practically any item another overtly admires. This makes the sparsely-furnished fales of Samoa more understandable. Using material goods to impress others in Samoa has its penalty. Samoans do not "dress up" to go to town since it could make them look as though they have money available for "loaning."

A Samoan child, new to American schools may be receiving his/her first own real books from the school for personal use, but be expected to return them to the school at the end of the year. In Western Samoa,

especially, it is unlikely the student has had a text for his/her own use. The scarcity of educational material resources usually sees only the teacher with a text. Students then copy great amounts of rewritten text from the chalkboard into their *api* (school notebook). The nature of care and expectations for return of loaned schoolbooks should be well-explained to students who are unfamiliar with the American system.

Even the small-group activities of the classroom can be problematic for the Samoan child who is unaccustomed to domination by a leader in group activities and expects an egalitarian structure. A leadership position may be initially highly contested in Samoa, but once gained, effort is made to meld with the group and to lead, for the most part, unobtrusively. In tribal societies, as in any group where people have primary bonds and live together for a long period, leadership is consensual and decisions are organically generated by shared values and life styles. American's primary concerns for "organization" include efficency and order and is appropriate to a bureaucratic society where relative strangers often are the constituents of larger groups assembled to accomplish a certain end (Myerhoff 1977). Leadership in Samoan entities is gained either by rank or earned through full participation in and with consensus of the group. A teacher-appointed student leader will tend to imitate the teacher in directing small group activities. Even when appointed to be leaders, Samoan children may be embarrassed and feel out of place in that position without the preceding context that might logically, for them, lead to their selection.

The style of successful interaction with Western teachers is in contrast with that familiar to the Samoan child. The teacher authority must at first seem very oppressive to the child who is used to power and authority being less directly asserted, although no less meaningfully. Expression of power is mitigated in the Samoan household through ritual and the use of humor which take the sting out of the frequent demands to cater to older and higher-ranking individuals. The group expectation of respect and politeness towards adults from children further encourage such cooperation. The nature of the requests also differ significantly: in the home setting the request is for the child to do something for others; in the Western school, the request usually is directed in some way towards doing something for one's self.

The areas of a child's life subject to adult authority are considerably broadened in a Western school setting. Individual posssessions become an issue in contrast to the expected and casual sharing in the Samoan home. Especially increased is the adult interference with child-child interactions. Barring infringement upon the rights and comforts of other family members, these matters are seldom problems in the extended family home. When addressing these differences to enculturate the Samoan child into the Western school setting, culture content should be considered an addition of new concepts and behaviors to be used when appropriate; not a replacement of home culture. To not overtly differentiate for the student is to increase what may be already a high level of affective dissonance and disorientation for a recently arrived and enrolled Samoan student.

The skills, perspectives, and orientations that children bring to school with them should be evaluated and taken into account when a teacher is planning for their instruction. One of the learning strengths of the traditionally-raised Samoan student is seldom recognized or capitalized upon in the Western classroom. His or her aural/oral learning abilities present a distinct advantage in the second language learning if the teacher manages the child's instruction so they are utilized as the asset they really can be.

The benefits of drawing on children's existing skills are two-fold. First, the children themselves have the opportunity to grow in self-esteem and confidence from the feeling that their language and culture are recognized and valued by the school. Self-esteem and confidence for a child in the traditional Samoan household is built through increased acceptance for a child's inclusion in decisions made by the family group. As he/she becomes capable of more, he/she is included more. Children's contributions to group activity, itself the cornerstone of Samoan culture, are valued and self-esteem grows through such contributions. Second, teachers are prodded from a preoccupation with what their pupils lack, i.e., a mastery of standard English, into an appreciation of skills seldom exercised in an American classroom (Heath, 1978). It is a challenge to Western teachers to maximize the educational advantages of the significant abilities of many Samoan children to assess relationships, judge social contexts and discriminate between and adjust to shifting social contexts. Recognition and appreciation of these are likely to enhance expectations of the teacher for the children's learning potential. The importance of the teacher's attitude towards minority students is highlighted by the truth of folk wisdom that children tend to see more quickly and clearly through adult facades than do other adults.

> "If students see and hear a teacher's contempt or boredom or impatience, they learn again they are people who inspire disgust and weariness. If they perceive the teacher's enthuasism in their own moments of living, they can find subjective interest in critical learning."
>
> -- Ira Shor, 1987

Another communicative competence learned early by the Samoan child is that of being able to distinguish speech acts seemingly directed at an individual but really designed to elicit the response from the group present (Ochs, 1982). This competence is essential for correct interpretation of and response to Samoan cultural speech and behaviors. The latter is partly where a sense of performance and theatrics is developed. In a society rift with ceremony and ritual in which people of all ages and rank play varied and specified roles, these skills are highly regarded.

Samoan children interact less exclusively with their siblings than do their Western counterparts due partly to their increased access to extended family kinships. Cousins may be called "brother" or "sister" with the full meaning of the words for the Samoan. One of the consequences is less felt

competition between siblings; thus competition between individuals is less likely to whet a Samoan's appetite for achievement (Shore, 1986). There are many ramifications of this reluctance to compete against individual members of a Western classroom. The MCEA value placed on the ability to make independent decisions with little reliance upon interactional skills with other human beings is not generally shared by Samoans. For the most part, wisdom is regarded as emanating from the considered consensus of a group of titled individuals and it is in this way that the majority of decisions guiding community, family and personal conduct is made.

One of the complications of the Samoan ranking system puts a number of constraints upon a person's speech. Samoan norms for speaking limit the spontaneous verbal expression of children in the presence of adults.. Oftentimes, a person may not be permitted to speak at all. The differences in social situations, and especially in the school setting, need explicit explanation by the teacher. The reluctance of a Samoan child to speak freely in the presence of an adult may be easily overcome; in fact, the newly-found freedom can turn into discipline problems without firm teacher guidance as to realistic boundaries of this privledge in the classroom.

A Samoan student's inability to cope with the expectations to compete independently, to show initiative and to be very expressive may result in some of the following behaviors: not paying attention in class, continually touching other students or property, walking around and refusing to participate with others and frequent absenteeism (Reid 1982). This and related conduct is consistent with the disorientation of culture and language shock in which even adults find social encounters threatening. Fear of making mistakes often prompts withdrawal from the situation in one form or another to avoid the unproductive stress suffered by communally-oriented rural individuals in a modern Western school setting. Such stress reduces the academic and social functioning of students.

The importance in middle class European American culture of reading and writing correlates with their place as primary skills for evaluating academic performance. The deemphasis of reading and writing in the Samoan home conflicts with the value system operating within the Western school. This mismatch goes beyond simply teaching the Samoan necessary skills. That which is written does not have the same cultural value as that which is spoken. The High Talking Chiefs write no outlines of speeches, use no notes and never read from a prepared text. That which is spoken spontaneously will always be more highly regarded than that which is written and read. Moreover, Samoans delight in form and style, and their academic writing emphasis is frequently placed upon correctness of form and expression. In all Samoan communications, accurate information about the world can be compromised in the interest of social relations. This further adds to the problem of convincing Samoan students that clarity and precision of reference are to be favored over form and stylistic embellishment (Shore, 1984). Students tend to operate with limited awareness of Western communication patterns and strategies. Here the skills of outlining factural

information and rhetorical argument in the Western linerar manner can help them realize appropriate academic expectations. With explicit instruction, such form, integrated as it is with cultural thought patterns, can be distinguished as appropriate for use in Western educational settings and extended to oral presentations as well. Writing, in the Islands, is generally perceived as a school skill, and basically unrelated to everyday life.

Background for Academic Failure

In my class of ninth-graders in American Samoa there was an almost completely non-English speaking boy. Moke sat cooperatively and looked at the English letters without apparent comprehension day after day. He evidenced little desire to learn English; but to please me, he did what any polite Polynesian would do: he made every effort to show that he was trying. He was regarded by his classmates and friends as knowledgable and skilled far beyond his years in many tradititional Samoan cultural competencies. He had been coached by his father and grandfather in Samoan lore and history. He could out-dance, out-talk, and out-sing all comers on campus. Whenever anyone had questions about legends, customs now extant, pre-contact Samoan history, Moke was sought and questioned. He didn't always know the answers; however, the immense respect given the knowledge he was able to relate seemed to raise him above ordinary school expectations so that I, the uninformed *palagi* teacher, was the only individual on campus who thought Moke should learn some English. I suspected he did know considerably more English than he let on; but the place he was establishing for himself in his traditional culture did not need it. Language knowledge is related very directly to feelings of social identity and social mobility. Those who identify more with their native culture and do not aspire to a more Western style of living are apt to demonstrate less knowledge of English (Shu, 1985). The result is not related so much to efforts to teach them English as it is to their own social goals.

Shore and Pratt (1984) reported the close relationship between language and job market success in their study of Samoan employment conditions on the West Coast. The observations have application to school settings as well:

> "Language limitations in reading and writing English as well as an unfamiliarity with Western expectations and values associated with the workplace, hamper the ability of the Samoan job seeker. Samoans generally are dependent upon clear-cut authority for effective work conditions. Absence of clear and consistent authority frequently suggests for Samoans that one is 'free,' and jobs do not get done. Absence of authority is inferred by the Samoan with the casual administration of authority in the typical American workplace. Americans prefer to be direct and plain speaking and Samoans prefer indirect messages and avoid open conflict. Samoans have a keen sense of justice and equity in treatment and respond to a misuse of power with a

sullen passive-resistance that sometimes appears as extreme politeness and formality, barely making hostility."

In a study of the multiple strategy hypothesis of acculturation, Baldauf (1977) found Samoan high school students' achievement was related to valuing change, being successful, being competitive, and having self-control. Apparently, the generosity and altruism learned in an extended family group is maladaptive to the competitive and individualistic Western school situation. In a study of Aitutaki (Pacific Islanders seeming to share many similarities with the cultural values of the Samoans), Graves and Graves (1978) found that those children displaying greater degrees of rivalry and competitiveness earned better grades than those who tested more generous and less competitive on a reward-allocation task. Additionally, the degree of competitiveness and rivalry was positively and significantly correlated with the extent to which the families had become nucleated and urban.

This research leads to the conclusion that Samoan students might well do better in school if they expressed less concern for others and moved to urban areas with only their parents and siblings. However, it is probably is such an orientation that sees the competitively-successful Samoan young adults declining to return to the islands and contribute their skills to benefit advancement of appropriate technology, teaching, etc. Alternatively, it is these same human relations skills possessed by traditionally-raised Samoans that could infuse more graciousness into the everyday conduct of American life. An additional factor discouraging their return to Samoa may be the very acceptable and culturally congruent practice there that Americans decry as "nepotism." Even armed with Western degrees and experience, the "non-connected" may find themselves seriously underemployed. Pay in the islands is at least less than half for comparable mainland occupations and positions.

Teachers and counselors, and both Samoan and non-Samoan community members cite a number of factors affecting Samoan academic achievement in American schools (NREL-DOL, 1984). First, Samoans often experience problems in communicating adequately in English. Though many Samoans speak English well enough to communicate basic ideas in day-to-day activities (BICS), their ability to utilize and comprehend the language in written and verbal forms basic to quality education (CALPS) is not commensurate. Particular areas of difficulty include confusion about complex verbal and written instructions; misinterpretation of non-verbal communication and conflict in social dimensions of communication - assumptions about social relations that differ considerably between the U.S. and Samoa. An example of the latter is that a Samoan worker may notice his/her American peers referring to their employer by last name only and so may subsequently address the employer in that manner face-to-face without, of course, intending the rudeness with which such manner of address would be interpreted by Americans.

Secondly, the Samoan communities tend to be isolated from the schools their children attend. The parents are unfamiliar with school

routines and their general language problems compound parents' communication with school administrators and teachers. In Samoa, parents appear at school for only two possible reasons: to attend a festival, sports event or award ceremony or to respond to a summons by a principal as the result of a problem with their child. Parents are rarely asked to serve on boards or committees and most work of this sort is done by faculty members. Samoans parents would likely respond positively and enthuastically to school involvement in the States were it not for the language barrier that exists for the vast majority of them. The ability of a group of Samoans to work cooperatively on a project is remarkable. A school that found the appropriate way to involve Samoan parents, and could identify it with the increased school achievement for their children, would find the result well worth the effort.

Thirdly, significantly different cultural knowledge results in students' inappropriate conduct at school. This is often identified as behavioral rather than as a basic problem in communication across cultures. The familiar spector of "blaming the victim" thus arises. A Samoan's unfamiliarity with being expected to provide a motive for one's misconduct is one such example. The Samoans' strong pride, when confronted by cultural others, is usually manifested by a dignified silence that does little to explain the Samoan perspective. Being the aggrieved or the accused in a conflict or difference of opinion can be frustrating on just the cross-cultural level. It is even more debilitating when the gradations of vocabulary needed to explain oneself or the situation, are not mastered in a second or common language. Under such conditions neither side leaves satisfied. The Samoan custom for dealing with more serious problems is a ritualized apology (*fiapoga*) given and received by the *matais* of the families involved. Between cultures this is not going to happen and so ends are left hanging. In the United States, the procedures will not entirely satisfy the Samoan and certainly a formal Samoan-style apology would not substitute for justice to an American. Matters between Samoans which would normally involve the American judicial system, such as assault, battery, theft, etc., are sometimes disposed of by Samoans prior to any formal court proceedings. Then the American court is often unable to produce a self-professed victim and/or witnesses since the matters have been resolved *fa'a Samoa* and no one wants to start it up all over again.

Fourth, the lack of information and understanding the educational community and Samoan community have concerning each other results in not really knowing and addressing the needs of Samoan students. Although performance data indicated that most Samoan students fare very poorly, they are almost never identified as having limited English proficiency skills (Luce, 1985).

And lastly, contributing greatly to the failure of schools to adequately serve Samoan students is the tendency for state and federal departments of education to identify Pacific Islanders as belonging to a larger group of diverse nationalities: the Asian Americans. This misidentification has seriously restricted the access of Samoan students to bilingual educational programs,

scholarships for higher education and vocational training. In querying various high schools and community colleges located in the midst of Samoan population concentrations, it was found that not one of over 20 institutions could give even an approximate number of Samoans enrolled and a few were not even sure if any were enrolled. The 1990 U.S. Census, for the first time, included Samoan as a separately-named ethnic category rather than the generic Pacific Islander.

Cultural norms, especially in North America, encourage blindness to gender, race, and ethnicity, and to only see people as individuals and judge them according to their professional skills. The approach, regardless of its well-meaning intentions, confuses recognition with judgement. Recognition occurs when it is realized that people from different cultural groups behave differently and that difference affects their relationship(s) to and in school. To ignore cultural differences is unproductive. Judging based on group (stereotyping) rather than on individual characteristics fosters prejudice. Judging cultural differences as good or bad can lead to inappropriate, offensive, racist, sexist, ethnocentric attitudes and behaviors. Recognizing differences does not. Choosing not to see cultural diversity limits the ability to minimize the problems it causes as well as to maximize the advantages it allows (Adler 1984).

Although teachers tend to see their individual classrooms as tiny microcultures (which is true) that are capable of creating new wide-ranging realities for disadvantaged minority children (which has not been demonstrated to be universally true), comprehension of social and cultural wholes is essential for understanding what occurs in the classroom. Conflict theory sociologists have a background explanation for general lack of academic success by minority students: the "hidden curriculum" of American schools, especially as expressed in the system of tracking. The hidden curriculum centers around a conservative set of values teaching obedience to authority with the goal of maintaining a cooperative adult work force who will accept things the way they are. This practice effectively acts to counterbalance whatever attempts are being made by individual classroom teachers to minimize negative effects of differential socialization. To avoid self-destruction, however, a culture must socialize its young to fit available slots in the adult world of work.

The second practice they attribute to maintenance of inequality is assigning students, on the basis of intelligence and aptitude test scores, to different types of education programs (Thomas 1990). This assertation received significant support by the findings of the large scale study reporting differing methods of instruction by teachers according to track. Higher track classes, containing larger numbers of higher socioeconomic status students encouraged creative and independent thinking, more self-direction and active participation in the educational process. In contrast, the vocational and general studies tracks, containing greater proportions of lower-income and miniority students, were taught in ways which encouraged conforming behavior, cooperation and obeying instructions. Theoretically, students may

switch tracks, but the self-fulfilling prophecy works exceptionally well to confirm the belief of less ability and potential in lower-track students. "The person most intimately involved with this testing and grading process, the teacher, is a cultural being who is operating in a cultural context - a swirling constellation of forces in which it is humanly and culturally impossible to be 'neutral'" (Wilcox 1985). That teachers play a central role in such unequal power relationships, perhaps in spite of intentions to the contrary, is cause for concern (Sato 1989).

Minority students, particularly, need to be protected from what Freire (1972) refers to as the "banking" concept of education. In "banking," the scope of action allowed to students extends only as far as receiving, filing and storing the deposits; as collectors or cataloguers of the things they store. Thus they do not develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world. They simply adapt to the world as it is and the formulated view of reality deposited in them.

Classroom Research and Applications

Cognitive style is defined by Ausubel (1968) as self-consistent and enduring individual differences in mental organization and functioning. Just as students have learning styles that can be categorized as primarily field -dependent or independent, teachers also have similiarly identifiable teaching styles.Field-independent teachers encourage independent student achievement and competition among students. The field-dependent teacher tends to be more interpersonally oriented and prefers situations that allow the use of personal, conversational techniques. Field-dependence tends to predict better performance in social situations. Teachers can learn to organize learning environments conducive to each cognitive style so all students could benefit equally. Western education methods tend to be most appropriate for field-independent cognitive and perceptual styles (Ramirez and Castaneda 1970). Tests administered to agricultural societies such as the Temne (Berry 1966), who require group action for survival in a similar way as the Samoans, indicate their members develop a less highly differential perceptual and cognitive style, and a personality characterized by much affect, interdependence, reliance on others and good interpersonal skills. Thus, Samoans are likely to possess predominantly a field-dependent cognitive learning style as consistent with a high-context communication culture. Suggested culture-matching strategies for Samoans include encouraging cooperation, stressing achievement for the family, appeals to cultural pride, emphasizing global aspects of concepts, and modeling of behavior and learning strategies. Samoan students are receptive and responsive to physical expressions of approval and affection.

What has been learned about the gains possible for students whose learning styles differ from those of mainstream American students can be applied in the classroom. Participant and collaborative learning styles are preferred by Samoan students and teachers alike (Patosina 1985). Inclusion in group activities and decisions encourage the Samoan student's learning

efforts. Cooperative teaching techniques proved to be much more effective wth Hawaiian and Samoan children than did individualized work (Au and Jordan 1981). Extensive use was made of traditional Hawaiian "storytellings," that allowed the children to gain experience with new content within a culturally familiar framework. Au and Mason (1981) also compared a low context versus a high context teaching environment. This framework sought to reproduce the balance of interactions culturally familiar to Polynesian students. This was accomplished by letting the students determine the turntaking and speaking rights of both the teacher and students, while the teacher maintained control over the topic of discussion. This testing of the social organization hypothesis is based on the assumption that, while minority children may possess a considerable degree of cognitive and linguistic competence that they exercise in their everyday environments, they often do not use this competence in dealing with academic tasks in the ordinary classroom. Thus the "competence/incompetence paradox": children who appear perfectly capable of dealing with a wide range of problems in the world outside appear inept and slow to learn in school (Gallimore and Au 1979). In Au's studies, the Polynesian students did, indeed, demonstrate more productivity and gains in reading when the classroom context created by the teacher more closely matched that of their native and home culture. Teacher-managed interactions in culturally-congruent participation structures are also credited for greater achievement results in children's spoken English (Spiedel 1989). Compatible with Samoan discourse modes, Boggs (1985) found information solicited from the group, rather than direct questioning of a specific student, resulted in longer, more elaborate responses. Sato (1989) stresses that discourse management should facilitate learners' participation in academic tasks rather than set up obstacles that learners must surmount. The growing familiarity of classroom teachers with strategies and techniques promoted by awareness of multiple intelligences can be especially beneficial to students whose cultural backgrounds rely less upon the traditional American academic icons of verbal and logical reasoning abilities.

Students can benefit from interactional patterns in which they are able to negotiate meaning in both socioculturally and psycholinguistically appropriate ways. Various adjustments in teacher talk and classroom participation appears to facilitate learner's understanding of both language and content. Au and Mason's (1983) work similiarly concluded that the culturally-congruent style of discourse was more effective, as it led to more productive achievement-related behavior by students on a variety of measures, including time on task, correct responses, and text content as well.

Collaborative learning demands a shift from teacher domination to a role of shared responsibility between teacher and student. The sharing is likely to be more difficult for the teacher to adjust to than for the student, since those in power seldom easily relinquish it. Smith (1984) argues that the empowerment of students, as it affirms each child's unique expressions of his cultural heritage, will be reflected in their increased motivation to learn. Yet teachers often discourage collaboration, refusing to allow students to seek

help from and give help to other students, even though study after study has show that students do not learn significantly from tests, but learn most successfully instead when allowed to work with others.

Steffensen's (1979) work examining the effect of content and concept familiarity on reading comprehension between two groups with different cultural heritages (Native American and Indian), concludes that the implicit background understanding exerts a profound influence on how well the text will be understood and later will be recalled. There will be considerable gaps in most Samoan students' knowledge of the cultural schema presented in the vast majority of Western elementary school reading materials. There are likely to be descriptions that do not accurately reflect or are even contradictory to the life experiences of the Samoan child, as well as words and described situations that do not have the same connotations for the Samoan child as for the middle class European American. Some students will have no firsthand knowledge of snow; some may be having their first experiences with modern plumbing and kitchens; some may not have yet even seen a train, a sheep, a robin, or any zoo animals. On the other hand, it is likely most Samoan 10-year-olds who have lived in the islands can name, describe and differentiate, plant, and harvest up to five varieties of bananas and cook them by at least five methods.

Because students do not relate various examples to their own life experiences does not mean they should not learn about other life-styles based on different cultural backgrounds and experiences. It does mean that the student's own cultural backgrounds and experiences should be used to teach basic academic concepts. Instructional strategies must related to the experiences of students (Gollnick and Chinn 1983). Teachers can select illustrations, analogies and allegories from experiences of different groups to demonstrate and extricate meanings of academic concepts and principles. Familiarity with the ethnic background and experiences of students should guide a teacher in developing strategies with which students can identify (Gay 1977a). Such educational strategies can encourge students to accept and prize cultural diversity as well as reduce students' anxieties about encountering people who are culturally different (Gay 1977b). Care needs to be taken also to avoid formulation of superficial, ingenuous and idealized images of Anglo-American culture and knowhow (Barga 1982). These concerns for learning materials and methods to be used by students from other cultures, and especially for those whose background experiences and socialization differ considerably, are equally valid for the evaluation instruments upon which students' educational paths and futures often are determined.

Researchers have agreed that efficient second-language learners must be exposed to peers who speak the target language and that this exposure can influence the kind of language acquired and the speed with which it is acquired (Hatch 1977). However, common school practices work against peer interaction between English-proficient and limited-English-speaking children. Within classrooms themselves, teachers tended to make very little use of peer interaction as a part of formal instruction. The "pull-out" practices

associated with many bilingual programs were found to be at cross-purposes with the weight of the research (Ascher 1988). It was also determined that in the compensatory programs, the majority of time spent in pull-out sessions was devoted to lower level skills and very little time on the analysis, synthesis and metalinguistic skills that allow students to go beyond basics into true manipulation of concepts and possibilities (Passow 1989).

Although educators do seek as many ways to make learning meaningful and conducted within context, there are still facts, rules, formulas and spelling that must be commited to memory. It is generally true that the Samoan children will likely be able to excel within these areas especially, and accomplishments here can form the basis of developing their self-confidence towards further steps to second language mastery and academic success

Heath (1978) sympathizes with the difficulties of stimulating the attentiveness of a student who is understanding only bits and pieces of the language a teacher is producing. She suggests the teacher must ensure adequate opportunities are being provided for comprehensible input to each student. They should be explicitly told why they need to listen. Empathy should be abundant for the frustration that accompanies students' attempts to comprehend the spoken second language. The content selected for presentation will optimally be of some inherent interest to the student or that which has a chance of attracting attention. Task-based listening practice can concentrate listening through specifying specific goals. Simply not permitting the student not to listen has considerable value, and attempting to achieve this goal can guarrantee total interaction involvement for the teacher.

Thus children who begin to feel accepted and somewhat understood can learn different verbal behaviors. Language experiences, when shared by children with varied cultural backgrounds, can help to overcome misunderstandings because then all the children learn about situational interference and cultural implications. Furthermore, they learn to speak about language (Luchtenberg 1988). Teachers who guide their multi-ethnic classes in such activities encourage students to be open to the discovery of new ideas, concepts and understanding about both their own and others' cultures. The use of comparison to develop awareness between different cultures is valuable in creating a non-judgemental climate for these explorations. The following suggestions are directed toward natural encounters with cultural differences to assist in developing an on-going cross-cultural dialogue as opposed to teacher-presented and isolated units on specific cultures:

- reading of both American and non-American authors who write about or of sociocultural misunderstandings;

- games, situational dialogues, role plays and simulations where taking others' perspectives is encouraged;

- incorporating the cultural implications of topics like behavior, food, family, shopping, illnesses, celebrations, etc;

- reading and discussing of essays on their own and other's cultures that are written by the students themselves;

- making full use of current events to increase awareness of the varieties of life outside school;

- rejecting the ethnocentric approach in teaching history and replacing such content with more accurate and authentic information at every age and grade level.

- using community resources such as individuals and events representing minority cultures.

- value clarification and human relations activities

Intercultural education ideally takes place in a multi-ethnic classroom where needs, capacities and deficits of each child are regarded as the basis of instruction. In such a classroom it is imperative that teachers know their own identity and can articulate specifics about their own culture. Teachers should be well informed about other cultural groups in the classroom and in the nation. Ethnic literacy requires understanding of the geographic and historical origins of various groups. It is important also that the teacher develop knowledge about the relationships between those groups. Acceptance and discussion of different cultural attitudes can enrich the experiences of all children.

Teacher Education and Inservice

The majority of a teacher's preparation for teaching bilingual classes or English as a Second Language involves intensive study of linguistics, first and second language acquisition and methods and techniques. In addition to knowing the nature of language, teachers also need to understand the socially- and psychologically-identifying significance of language differences. Teachers must realize that cultural differences do exist and that they exert a powerful influence on their own, as well as their pupils' behaviors (Triandis 1975). A number of factors which may contribute to teachers' relative lack of concern with cultural variables were identified by Albert (1979). She cites a lack of direct experience with other cultures; a psychological need to simplify events, and hence to assume cross-cultural similarities; the realization that differences in test performance can be, and have been, used to discriminate against minority groups; an egalitarian ideology that postulates that teachers should treat every child in the same general manner; the fear of creating stereotypes; the historical experience of forging a nation out of a multitude of ethnic groups; the dominant economic and political position of the United

States in the world; and the ethnocentric tendencies which lead us to assume that our patterns of behavior are universal. At the very least, examination of these factors would heighten prospective teachers' awareness of the pervasiveness of attitudes about and toward different cultures.

Inservice programs by school districts that address issues and facts of intercultural communication and culture can contribute to experienced teachers' knowledge and skills in these areas. Beyond consciousness-raising about sociolinguistic diversity, Sato (1989) calls for teacher education to provide concrete opportunities for observation and analysis of sociolinguistic diversity and its effects on classroom procedure. She points out that such experiences would allow teachers to see their unconscious apparently discriminatory responses to various minority students and the effects of those upon the students and classroom interactions.

This aspect of developing knowledge and skills in teachers that would allow them to understand, and effectively reach, students of other cultures is one that currently receives relatively little attention in professional preparation. Indeed, it would be impossible to become well-versed in all the cultures which one might encounter during a teaching career. It is however, possible to teach skills and techniques as well as to promote attitudes that will allow a teacher to develop the flexibility and understanding necessary to accomodate changing student constituencies. Some of these skills, such as training in intercultural communication and pragmatics, the use of anthropological ethnography techniques to discover cultural information, and exploration of existing ethnologies can be passed on to students as a way of encouraging their own investigations and understandings of cultural others. Some states now require for teachers-in-training at least one course which explores different cultures, intercultural communication and techniques for more effectively meeting the needs of culturally-different students. California has added a Culture, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) and Bilingual (BCLAD) certification which is becoming more and more necessary in that state's schools. Exposure to the dominant values and behavior expectations to identify and address personal and group view on work and productivity in the terms of different elements of cultural value systems such as self, age, sex, the family, society, nature, and the supernatural can begin the process of clarifying the notions and values that will help participants realize that their behaviors are ethnic and culture-bound, and not universal (Adler 1986).

The debate over conscious and unconscious learning of English as a second languge continues and strong avocation of one or another method to the exclusion of others seems unwise still. However, it is unlikely that simple exposure to sociolintguistically appropriate input will be sufficient for acquisition of pragmatic and discoursal knowledge due to the lack of necessary notice by second language learners. Explicit teaching of pragmatics should be accurate beyond simple intuitions on the part of a native speaker for Wolfson (1980) has shown that native speakers are not infallible on noticing and explaining their own language behaviors.

Intercultural understanding is reached in degrees and is a continuing process rather than a pedestal. The attempt made here to present the Samoan culture in a manner that will be helpful to a classroom teacher glosses the depth of highly complex cultural elements and can not be construed as a comprehensive study or presentation.

Glossary

matai - the head of a family; also a titled chief.

kava - a pepper-lke plant whose root is ground to prepare a mildly narcotic drink, usually for ceremonial purposes

paopao - wooden canoe with one outrigger

fale - house

fono - decision-making body

fautasi - long boat used for races between villages

palagi - a white non-Samoan

faifeau - minister

puletasi - a two-piece long dress made of material or finely woven

tulafale - talking chief.

alii'i - high chief.

lavalava - the two-yard wrap of cotton cloth worn on a daily basis by both sexes of all ages.

fiapiapo - to show off

fa'alavelave - a problem, but can mean even the situation one must meet the gift-giving obligations of a wedding, a funeral, or church offering.

fa'amolemole - please

fa'apalagi - acting like a non-Samoan

fa'aSamoa - in the Samoan way.

Tusi Paia - the Bible, as translated into Samoan

faifatai - thank you

o fia mai - welcome (to our home)

musu - a depressed state of mind

leaga - bad

aiga - family

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